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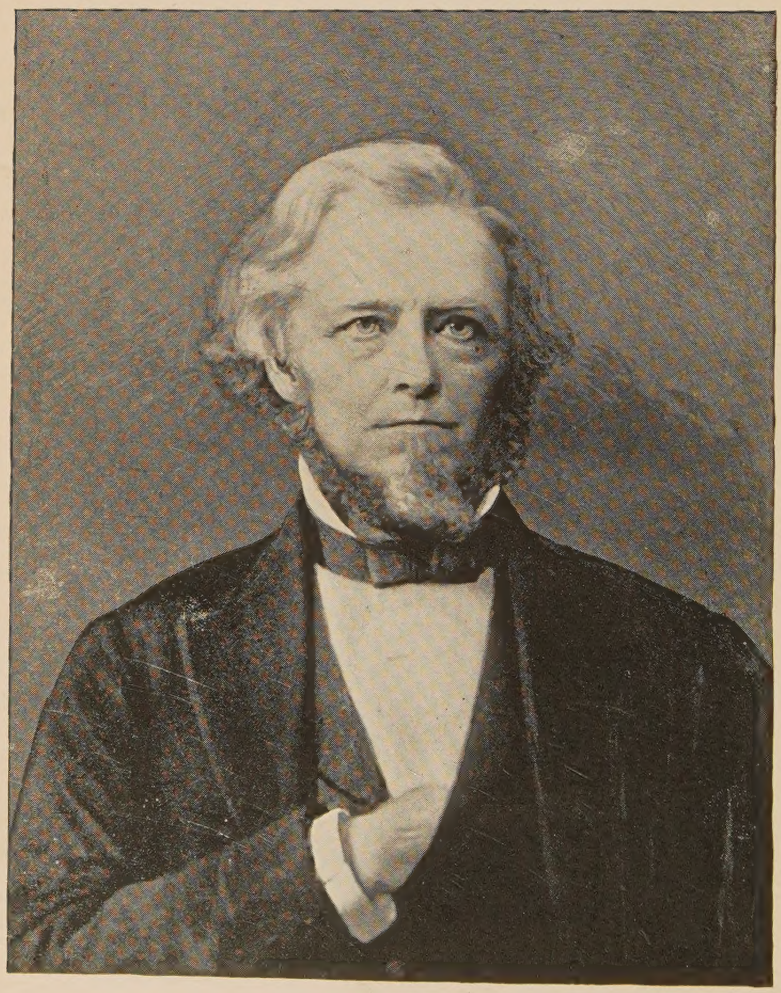

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.

Secretary of the Society, 1854-86, and Editor of Vols. I-X, Wisconsin Historical Collections.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. I

Being a page-for-page Reprint of the Original Issue of 1855; with the addition of a Memoir of Dr. Draper, and the Early Records of the Society (1849–1854)

UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary and Superintendent

MADISON

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Preface to Reprint Edition

One of the manifestations of the general revival of interest in American history, so noticeable during the past fifteen or eighteen years, has been the large and ever-increasing demand for materials for the study of local and sectional history. In the case of this Society, the result has been an almost complete exhaustion of the stock of the first ten volumes of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*—indeed, it has been many years since any copies of some of its volumes could be supplied. The recent rapid increase in the number of public and school libraries throughout the State, and the marked improvement in the methods and strength of the older of these institutions, together with the greater attention now paid by the general public to the study of Western history, have appeared to necessitate the republishing of these early and rare volumes. The demand for their reprinting, from the teachers and librarians of the State, has of late been so persistent that the Legislature of 1903 made the necessary provisions therefor. They will accordingly be republished at the rate of two volumes a year.

In considering the matter of a second edition, the first impulse was, by careful re-editing to bring the volumes up to date, both in the matter of eliminating the undesirable material and in correcting other matter concerning which there is now more complete information. In 1855, when volume i was issued, the study of Western history was in its infancy. The editor, Dr. Lyman Copeland Draper, was then new to the West, and there were few others who had made scholarly researches into its historical sources. The volume was in large measure a tentative publication; it, and sev-

eral of its successors, necessarily contained some contributions which later years and subsequent investigation proved of small value. Each volume, as it successively appeared—and the same is true of the Society's publications of the present day—stood as it were on the shoulders of its predecessors. Each contained, if not refutations of what went before, at least many and often important corrections. Such being the case, the project of carefully re-editing the several papers in the first ten volumes (those issued under Draper's editorship) appeared in some respects hopeless; indeed, if only the really enduring material were to be retained, they might readily have been condensed into four or five volumes.

More mature consideration of the problem, resulted in the decision to publish a strictly page-for-page reissue, without re-editing. This, because it appeared desirable, bibliographically and historically, to exhibit the manner of growth in the *Collections*; to preserve intact the original pagination, in order that the value of thousands of references to the first editions, scattered throughout historical works touching upon Wisconsin and the West, might not be vitiated by a new system of paging; and to present in its original form what is the most enduring monument to Dr. Draper's skillful editorial labors in behalf of Western history.

Actuated by these professional and personal considerations, we have, therefore, made an exact reproduction of volume i, as edited by Dr. Draper, save that the mechanical appearance is in accordance with that of the *Collections* (subsequent to volume x) issued under the direction of the present Editor. Obvious typographical errors in the original have of course been corrected in the present issue; otherwise, the matter upon each page is exactly the same as upon the corresponding page in the original—a convenience which will be appreciated by all scholars who have occasion to cite the series. In addition to the material of the original, we give: (1) A Memoir of Dr. Draper; and (2) the Early Records of the Society, from the original foundation in 1849 until 1854, under the reorganization, when the Report in each of the first ten volumes of *Collections* takes up the story of the So-

ciety's progress. Following the issue of volume x, the Society, commencing with 1887, has published its *Proceedings* annually, in separate form; the *Collections* being thereafter reserved strictly for historical material and studies.

It is hardly necessary at this late date, to emphasize the great importance of the first ten volumes of *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* the result of Dr. Draper's editing. We have said that the enduring material therein might be condensed into four or five volumes; but these would be remarkable books, containing some of the most valuable sources of Wisconsin history—indeed, of general Western history. Gorrell's Journal and the reminiscences by Biddle and Whittlesey, given in volume i, could be spared from no collection. Each successive volume contained documents of marked value, generally of increasing importance—Draper's interview with Augustin Grignon, in volume iii, being perhaps his most important single contribution to the history of this region. Any original study of Wisconsin's development, or that of the West at large, must take careful note of these ten volumes, as foundation stones. It is a matter for general congratulation that legislative bounty has rendered it possible to place them before the public in new dress, and in number sufficient, it is hoped, to meet all legitimate demands.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis.
October 1, 1903.

Lyman Copeland Draper
A Memoir[1]

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

On the night of the twenty-sixth of August, 1891, there passed from life one who was practically the architect of this Society, and for a third of a century its guiding spirit. In our capacity as an historical association, it has often been our duty to hold exercises in memory of distinguished dead; but never were our funeral tributes more worthily bestowed than now, never was our line of duty nearer to heart.

We all greatly admired Lyman Copeland Draper, were aware of his work in the building of this institution, which today is his chiefest monument, and had some knowledge of his national reputation as a collector and editor of historical materials and as an oracle in the history of trans-Alleghany pioneering; yet not many of us knew what sort of man was this tireless worker, what his methods were, or his personal characteristics. Of so retiring a disposition was he, of so modest a demeanor, of so shrinking a habit, that it was given to but few, even of his literary associates, to understand the man as an individual. It was my lot to be as near to him, possibly, as was any other man; and if I may succeed in at least partly lifting for you the veil which seemed to obscure his personality, perhaps the study of his character will interest you as it has me.

[1] Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at its annual meeting, December 10, 1891, and originally published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii. Revised for the present re-issue.

Our friend was born in the town of Hamburg (now Evans), Erie county, New York, on the fourth of September, 1815. Five generations back, his ancestors were Puritans in Roxbury, Massachusetts. His paternal grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, and his maternal grandfather fell in the defense of Buffalo against the British in 1813; while his father, Luke, was twice captured by the English during the latter war. When Lyman was three years of age, the family removed to Lockport, on the Erie Canal.

Luke Draper was by turns grocer, tavern-keeper, and farmer, and as soon as his son Lyman could be of use about the house, the store, or the land, he was obliged to perform his full share of family labor. Until fifteen years of age, the boy's experiences were those of the average village lad of the period—the almost continuous performance of miscellaneous duties, including family shoe repairing, the gathering and selling of wild berries, and occasional jobs for the neighbors. One summer was spent in acting as a hod-carrier for a builder in the village, at the wage of twelve-and-a-half cents a day. From his fifteenth year to his eighteenth, he served as clerk in various village shops. During this time, having gained all the education possible from the village school, he added to its meager curriculum the reading of what few books were obtainable by purchase or loan in the then frontier settlement, and established a local reputation as a youth of letters.

Even at that early age the lad's taste for Revolutionary lore was well developed. He came naturally by it. At Luke Draper's fireside, the deeds of Revolutionary heroes always formed the chief topic of conversation. There were yet living many veterans of the Continental Army, who were always welcome to the hospitality of the Draper household, while the War of 1812–15 was an event of but a few years previous. The boy was early steeped in knowledge of the facts and traditions of Anglo-American fights and Western border forays, so that in after years it was impossible for him to remember when he first became inspired with the passion for obtaining information as to the events in which his ancestors took part.

As a boy he neglected no opportunity to see and converse with distinguished pioneers and patriots. In 1825, when but ten years of age, he feasted his eyes upon La Fayette, during the latter's celebrated visit to the United States; and to the last declared that he had a vivid recollection of the lineaments of that distinguished personage. Lewis Cass, DeWitt Clinton, and other celebrities of his youth, he also saw and heard at Lockport; while the presence in the village, on various occasions, of the noted Seneca chiefs, Tommy Jimmy, Major Henry O'Bail, and others, were, to the young enthusiast in border history, like visitations from a realm of fancy. La Fayette was the subject of young Draper's first school composition. His earliest article for the press, published in the Rochester *Gem* for April 6, 1833, was a sketch of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last of the "signers." One of the first historical works he ever read was Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County; or, Border Warfare of New York,* published in 1831. This and other publications of the time were replete with lurid accounts of border disturbances, well calculated to fire the imagination of youth.

Peter A. Remsen, a cotton factor at Mobile, Alabama, had married young Draper's cousin. Taking a fancy to the young historical student, then eighteen years old, Remsen invited Draper to spend the winter at Mobile. Thither he accordingly went, staying at Remsen's home until May of the following year. While there, he chiefly occupied himself in collecting information regarding the career of the famous Creek chief, Weatherford, many of whose contemporaries lived in the neighborhood of the Alabama metropolis. These manuscript notes, the product of his youthful investigations are, like the greater portion of his materials for history, still mere unused literary bricks and stone.

In 1834, during his nineteenth year, Draper entered the college at Granville, Ohio, now styled Denison University. Here he remained for over two years as an undergraduate. He appears to have made a good record as a student, but was compelled from lack of money to leave the institution. Remsen had returned to New York from the South, and was now living in the neighborhood

of Alexander, Genesee county. Draper's father was a poor man and unable either to help his son toward an education or to support him in idleness; very likely, he did not appreciate the lad. Lyman was undersized, not robust, and had tastes which seemed to fit him only for an unprofitable life of letters. Remsen, a man of moderate means, offered the youth a congenial home, without cost, and to this patron he again went upon leaving Granville. For a time he was placed at Hudson River Seminary, in Stockport, his studies here being followed by an extended course of private reading, chiefly historical.

Doddridge, Flint, Withers, and afterward Hall, were the early historians of the border. The young student of their works found that on many essential points and in most minor incidents there were great discrepancies between them. It was in 1838, when twenty-three years of age, that Draper conceived the idea of writing a series of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, in which he should be able by dint of original investigation to fill the gaps and correct the errors which so marred all books then extant upon this fertile specialty. This at once became his controlling thought, and he entered upon its execution with an enthusiasm which never lagged through a half century spent in the assiduous collection of material for what he always deemed the mission of his life; but unfortunately he only collected and investigated, and the biographies were never written.

From the Remsen home, Draper began an extensive and long-continued correspondence with prominent pioneers all along the border line—with Drs. Daniel Drake and S. P. Hildreth, and Colonel John McDonald, of Ohio; William C. Preston, of South Carolina; Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Charles S. Todd, Major Bland W. Ballard, Dr. John Croghan, and Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky; ex-Governor David Campbell, of Virginia; Colonel William Martin and Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, and scores of others of almost equal renown. Correspondence of this character, first with the pioneers and later with their descendants, he actively conducted until within a few days of his death.

In 1840 he began supplementing his correspondence with personal interviews with pioneers, and the descendants of pioneers and Revolutionary soldiers, at their homes, having found that for his purpose the gathering of information by means of letters was slow and unsatisfactory, the mails being in those days tardy, unreliable, and expensive, while many of those who possessed the desired information were not adepts with the pen. There were then no railroads; the eager collector of facts traveled on his great errand for many years, far and wide, by foot, by horseback, by stage, by lumber wagon, and by steamboat, his constant companion being a knapsack well-laden with note books.

In these journeys of discovery, largely through regions of sparsely-settled wilderness, Draper traveled, in all, over sixty thousand miles, meeting with hundreds of curious incidents and hairbreadth escapes, by means of runaway horses, frightful storms, swollen streams, tipped-over stages, snagged steamboats, extremities of hunger, and the like, yet never once being injured nor allowing any untoward circumstance to thwart the particular mission in view. Many of those he sought, especially before 1850, were far removed from taverns and other conveniences of civilization; but pioneer hospitality was universal and generous, and a stranger at the hearth a most welcome diversion to the dull routine of a frontiersman's household. The guest of the interviewed, the inquisitive stranger often stopped weeks together at those crude homes in the New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee backwoods—long enough to extract, with the acquired skill of a cross-examiner, every morsel of historical information, every item of valuable reminiscence stored in the mind of his host; while old diaries, or other family documents which might cast side-lights on the stirring and romantic story of Western settlement, were deemed objects worth obtaining by means of the most astute diplomacy.

It would be wearisome to give a list of those whom Draper visited in the course of these remarkable wanderings which he made his chief occupation, with few lapses, through nearly a quarter of a century, and continued at intervals for many years after. Only

a few of the most notable can here be mentioned. Perhaps his most important interview was with Major Bland Ballard, of Kentucky, a noted Indian fighter under General George Rogers Clark in the latter's campaigns against the Ohio Indians. Other distinguished worthies who heaped their treasures at Draper's feet, were Major George M. Bedinger, of Kentucky, a noted pioneer and Indian fighter; General Benjamin Whiteman, of Ohio, and Captain James Ward, of Kentucky, two of Kenton's trusted lieutenants; and General William Hall, an officer under Jackson in the Creek War, and afterward governor of Tennessee. Draper also interviewed fifteen of General Clark's old Indian campaigners, and many of the associates and descendants of Boone, Kenton, Sumter, Sevier, Robertson, Pickens, Crawford, Shelby, Brady, Cleveland, and the Wetzels. He also visited and took notes among the aged survivors of several Indian tribes—the Senecas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Chickasaws, Catawbas, Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares, and Potawatomis. Not the least interesting of these were the venerable Tawanears, or Governor Blacksnake, one of the Seneca war captains at Wyoming—who served as such with the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant—and the scholarly Governor William Walker, of the Wyandots. The descendants of Brant among the Canadian Mohawks, whom Draper interviewed at much length, gave him an Indian name signifying "The Inquirer." Draper once visited Andrew Jackson at the home of the latter, and had a long conversation with the hero of New Orleans. At another time he was the guest of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who is thought to have killed Tecumseh. He once saw Henry Clay, when in Kentucky on one of his hunts for manuscripts; and General Harrison, in Ohio, but had no opportunity to speak to either of them.

The period of Draper's greatest activity in the direction of personal interviews was between 1840 and 1879, but upon occasion he frequently resorted to that method of obtaining materials for history in his later years; while the period of his active correspondence in that direction was ended only by his death. The result of this half century of rare toil and drudgery was a rich

harvest of collections. Upon the shelves of his large private library, now the property of this Society, were, besides a still greater mass of loose papers, a hundred and fifty portly volumes of manuscripts, the greater part made up of wholly original matter, nearly all of it as yet unpublished, covering the entire history of the fight for the Northwest, from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Valley of Virginia, to 1813–14, when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated.[1]

A few only of these documents can here be noted. The earliest manuscripts in the Draper collection are some documents concerning McDowell's fight in the Valley of Virginia (1742), just mentioned. There is also George Rogers Clark's original manuscript narrative of his famous expedition to Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778, a volume of some two hundred and twenty-five pages. The earliest original manuscript diary in the collection is one kept by Captain William Preston, who commanded a company under Lewis during the Sandy Creek expedition in West Virginia, in 1756. There are several diaries on the Point Pleasant campaign in West Virginia in 1774. Numerous diaries relate to Kentucky—one of them kept by George Rogers Clark in 1776, and another by Colonel William Fleming during an early trip to the "dark and bloody ground." Some diaries on St. Clair's and Wayne's campaigns are of especial interest. But the foregoing are merely sample treasures. As the old frontier heroes were not noted for keeping diaries, the great number and remarkable character of the rich material among the Draper manuscripts strongly illustrate to all those who have essayed collections of this sort, his arduous labors of a life-time.

In 1841, while in the midst of his chosen task, Draper drifted to Pontotoc, in northern Mississippi, where he became part owner

[1] He himself computed, in 1857, that his material comprised "some 10,000 foolscap pages of notes of the recollections of warrior-pioneers, either written by themselves, or taken down from their own lips; and well-nigh 5,000 pages more of original manuscript journals, memorandum books, and old letters written by nearly all the leading border heroes of the West."

and editor of a small weekly journal entitled *Spirit of the Times.*[1] The paper was not a financial success, and at the close of a year his partner bought him out, giving in payment the deed to a tract of wild land in the neighborhood. There came to Pontotoc, about this time, a young lawyer named Charles H. Larrabee, afterward a prominent citizen of Wisconsin, where he became a circuit judge and a congressman. Larrabee had been a student with Draper at Granville. The professional outlook at Pontotoc not being rich with promise, Larrabee united his fortunes with those of his college-mate, and together they moved upon Draper's tract. For about a year the young men "roughed it" in a floorless and windowless hut, a dozen miles from Pontotoc, the nearest postoffice, raising sweet potatoes and living upon fare of the crudest character. In the summer of 1842 Draper received the offer of a clerkship under a relative who was Erie Canal superintendent at Buffalo, and retraced his steps to the north, leaving Larrabee in sole possession. But the latter soon received a call to Chicago and followed his friend's example, leaving their crop of sweet potatoes ungarnered and their land at the mercy of the first squatter who chanced along.

The following year, however, Draper was back again in Pontotoc, where he made some interesting "finds" in the chests of the Mississippi pioneers. In 1844 he returned to Remsen's household, then near Baltimore.[2] After a time the family moved to Philadelphia, whither he accompanied them. For eight years thereafter Draper's principal occupation was the prosecution of his search for historical data, always collecting and seldom writing up any of his material, for he was not willing to commence until he had, to his own satisfaction, exhausted every possibility of finding

[1] "*Spirit of the Times*—devoted to news, agriculture, commercial and literary intelligence." The prospectus for the venture, signed "Leland and Draper," was dated May 8, 1841. The one copy of the little journal found among Draper's effects is dated September 18, 1841.

[2] He left Pontotoc in December, 1843. Journeying leisurely northward, visiting pioneers on the way, he called in March on Andrew Jackson, at the Hermitage. In a letter to *The Perry* (N. Y.) *Democrat*, dated Nashville, Tenn., March 16, 1844, he describes his visit and relates his conversation with the ex-president.

more. If the truth must be told, our collector had already become so imbued with the zeal of collecting that he regarded the digestion of his material as of secondary consideration.

During his life in Philadelphia, he added miscellaneous Americana to the objects of his collection, and particularly old newspaper files, for he found that these latter were among the most valuable sources of contemporaneous information on any given topic in history. He thus collected a unique library at the Remsen home, which came to attract almost as much attention among scholars as had his manuscript possessions. It was a time when there were few historical students or writers in America engaged in original research; as a specialist in the trans-Alleghany field, Draper practically stood alone. George Bancroft, Hildreth, S. G. Drake, Parkman, Sparks, Lossing, and others, displayed much interest in the Draper collections, which several of them personally examined and publicly praised. They sent him encouraging letters, urging him to enter upon his proposed task of writing up the heroes of the border.

In 1854, Lossing went so far as to enter upon a literary copartnership with Draper for the joint production of a series of border biographies—Boone, Clark, Sevier, Robertson, Brady, Kenton, Martin, Crawford, Whitley, the Wetzels, Harmar, St. Clair, Wayne, and others being selected. The titles of the several biographies were agreed upon at a meeting in Madison between Lossing and Draper; but while as a collector Draper was ever in the field, eager, enterprising, and shrewd, as a writer he was a procrastinator, and nothing was done at the time. In 1857, he displayed renewed interest in the scheme, and sent broadcast over the country a circular informing the public that the long-promised work was at last to be performed; and yet nothing came of it.

Nineteen years had now elapsed since Draper entered fully upon his career as a collector. He had, up to that time, made a collection of material nearly as valuable in all essential points as it was at his death. His accumulations in after years were more in the direction of details, and much of this class of matter, in the getting of which he spent the last thirty-five years

of his life, would doubtless be considered as unimportant by most historical writers trained in modern methods. Draper, however, considered no detail regarding his heroes as too trivial for collection and preservation. His design was to be encyclopædic; he would have his biographies embrace every scrap of attainable information, regardless of its relative merit. He has more than once confessed to me, with some sadness, that he felt himself quite lacking in the sense of proportion, could not understand what were meant by the terms "historical perspective" or "historical philosophy," and as for generalization he abhorred it. Yet his literary style was incisive, and he sometimes shone in controversy.

"I have wasted my life in puttering," he once lamented, "but I see no help for it; I can write nothing so long as I fear there is a fact, no matter how small, as yet ungarnered." A newspaper editor, fearing to put his journal to press because something else might happen when too late to insert it in that day's issue, would not be a success in his profession; an historian must also realize the fact that others will surely follow him, each one with fresh material to add to his own. Draper not only feared to go to press, but even refrained from writing up his notes, literally from an apprehension that the next mail might bring information which would necessitate a recasting of his matter. At the time of his contract with Lossing, he had completed some twenty chapters of his proposed *Life of Boone*—perhaps half of the number contemplated. It is likely that this manuscript was written before he came to Madison; it seems certain, from its present appearance, that he added to it nothing of importance during the succeeding thirty-four years. Of his other projected biographies, I cannot find that he had written more than a few scattering skeleton chapters.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1849, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was formed at Madison. It had at first but a sickly existence, for there was no person at its service with the technical skill necessary to the advancement of an undertaking of this character. Larrabee, Draper's old college mate, had drifted to Wisconsin, and was now a circuit judge. He was one of the

founders of the Society. In full knowledge of the quality of his friend's labors, he urged upon his associates the importance of attracting such a specialist to Madison. Harlow S. Orton, afterwards a member of the Wisconsin supreme court, together with Governor Farwell and others, heartily co-operated with Judge Larrabee, and about the middle of October, 1852, Draper arrived in Madison. His patron Remsen had died the spring before, and the following year Draper married the widow, who was also his cousin.[1] The historian was then thirty-seven years of age, full of vigor and push, kindly of disposition, persuasive in argument, devoted to his life-task of collecting, self-denying in the cause, and of unimpeachable character.

For various reasons it was the 18th of January, 1854, before the Society was thoroughly reorganized, and Draper, as corresponding secretary, made its executive officer. Then for the first time the institution began to move. The new secretary entered with joyous enthusiasm upon the undertaking of accumulating books for the library, relics and curiosities for the museum, portraits of pioneers for the gallery, and documents for publication in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections.* His administration opened with a library of but fifty volumes contained in a small case with glass doors, that is today exhibited in the museum as a suggestive relic. The Society's library, now housed in one of the most beautiful library buildings in America, has expanded to over two hundred and fifty thousand volumes, and rich stores of pamphlets and manuscripts; its museum and art gallery annually attract sixty thousand visitors; its possessions are probably marketable at a million and a half dollars, and in usefulness to the people of this State are beyond price. But the story of the Society's remarkable progress is familiar, and need not here be dwelt upon.[2] By the

[1] On the 23d of May, 1888, Draper lost this, his first wife, whose last years were those of a chronic invalid, a fact which did much to hamper him in his literary work. On the 10th of October, 1889, at Cheyenne, Wyoming, he married Mrs. Catherine T. Hoyt, of that place, who survived him about a year.

[2] See *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Memorial Volume* (Madison, 1901), pp. 95–109.

close of the first year of his management, Secretary Draper had accumulated for the library a thousand books and a thousand pamphlets; and since then its growth has been unchecked.

During the years 1858 and 1859, Secretary Draper served as state superintendent of public instruction. He was quite as efficient in this role as in that of antiquarian collector. He was the originator of a bill establishing township libraries, and almost unaided secured its passage by the legislature in 1859. The people of the State raised in the first year of the Draper law a library fund of $88,784.78 to be expended for the several towns by a State library board; but in 1861, when the War of Secession broke out, and the resources of the commonwealth were taxed to the utmost to support its troops at the front, the well-digested library law was repealed and the money already accumulated transferred to other funds before a book could be purchased or the proposed board organized. It was not until 1887—twenty-eight years after—that an act was again passed by the Wisconsin legislature, establishing township libraries for the education of rural communities.

It may be truly said of State Superintendent Draper that he was the first occupant of the office to take a broad grasp of its duties and responsibilities. He won enthusiastic encomiums from Governor Randall, legislative committees, and prominent educators in different portions of the country, and at various times in the annual reports of his appreciative successors in office, who came to realize, as they in turn examined the records of the department, what a complete and healthful revolution he had brought about in its management.

While serving as state superintendent, he was *ex-officio* a member of the boards of regents of the University of Wisconsin and the state normal schools, respectively. He was particularly efficient in promoting the interests of the former; and, recognizing that "the true university of these days is a collection of books," devoted his energies to the founding of an adequate library for that institution. This service, as well as his life labors in promoting the cause of historical literature, was formally recognized by the state university in 1871, by the conferring upon him the

degree of LL. D.—Granville having made him an M. A. just twenty years previous.

So indefatigable was Dr. Draper in his labors for the advancement of popular education, that there seemed good cause for fearing that he was for the time neglecting his especial task as a collector and editor of materials for Western history, and that he might permanently be diverted from it. For this reason, a number of distinguished educators and historical students in various parts of the country sent him frequent letters protesting against his continuance in the new field at the expense of the old.

Dr. Draper finally heeded these urgent calls for a return to his proper sphere of duty, and the year 1860 found him back at his work in behalf of the State Historical Society, and in the prosecution thereof he never again lagged so long as he remained its secretary.

In 1869, we rather oddly find Dr. Draper preparing and publishing, in partnership with W. A. Croffut, a then well-known writer of handbooks, a volume of 800 pages entitled, *The Helping Hand: An American Home Book for Town and Country.* It was a compilation, culled from newspapers and magazines, of suggestions and recipes appertaining to stock and fruit raising, domestic economy, agricultural economics, cookery, household medical remedies, etc.—a singular digression for an historical specialist. The publication came eventually into the toils of a law-suit, and the compilers never realized anything from their labors. It was Dr. Draper's first book.

His next work was *King's Mountain and its Heroes,* an octavo volume of 612 pages, published in 1881 by Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati. Unfortunately for the publisher and author, the greater part of the edition was consumed by fire soon after its issue, so that few copies are now extant; although the stereotype plates were in existence a few years ago. Aside from the border forays of whites and Indians, the really romantic portion of the history of the Revolution in the South is confined to the whig and tory warfare of the Carolinas, which was first fully treated in *King's Mountain.* The book was well received at the time; but in later

years Winsor and others have criticised it as possessing the faults which have ever been conspicuous in Dr. Draper's treatment of his material: a desire to be encyclopædic, and a lack of proper historical perspective. But even with these faults, *King's Mountain* is, as a bulky storehouse of information obtained at first hand, regarding the Revolutionary War in the South, a permanently valuable contribution to American historical literature.

Tucked away in a volume of odds and ends upon our library shelves is a pamphlet of fifty pages, by Dr. Draper, entitled, *Madison, the Capital of Wisconsin: Its Growth, Progress, Condition, Wants and Capabilities.* It was our secretary's contribution in 1857 to the well-known "Farwell boom." No advertising pamphlet issued by Madison "promoters" since that day has been so comprehensive in details of statistics and description, or more gracefully written. Thirty-four years ago, it was in wide circulation throughout the country, and thousands now living obtained from its pages their first knowledge of Wisconsin's capital and the Four Lake region; it is now a literary rarity.

Dr. Draper rode many hobbies in his day. One of them was the collection of autographs of notable people, both for himself and for the Society. In 1887 appeared his *Essays on the Autographic Collections of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution* (New York; pp. 117). In the preparation of this monograph, which first appeared in volume x of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* he expended remarkable patience and industry, and the result is a treatise so exhaustive that probably none other will care to enter the field with him.

The following year (Cincinnati, 1888), he appeared as editor of Forman's *Narrative of a Journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789–90.* In this pamphlet of sixty-seven pages, he did much good work, bringing to bear upon the subject a quantity of illustrative material garnered from his own stores. This was Dr. Draper's last appearance in the book-market.

I have spoken of the progress he had made upon his long-projected *Life of Boone,* and the few scattering chapters on other border heroes. He had also almost completed the manuscript for

a volume on the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May, 1775—a painstaking and most exhaustive monograph it certainly would have been, if finished. For some time he was engaged with the late Consul W. Butterfield, in the preparation of a work to be entitled, *Border Forays and Adventures;* the manuscript appears to have been completed, but was never published. His last weeks of work were spent in preparing notes for a proposed republication by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, Va., 1831); he had annotated about one-third of the volume, and prepared a preface and memoir.[1] He frequently contributed biographical articles to encyclopædias; some of the sketches of noted border heroes in Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* are from his pen.

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties under which Dr. Draper labored was that in his desire to inform the public he attempted too much. The variety of plans for historical works which for the last forty years of his life he had in various stages of preparation is quite surprising. Instead of concentrating his efforts, and completing his enterprises one at a time, he continually added to each, never pausing in his zealous search for fresh details, but in an excess of conscientious caution ever hesitating to construct his proposed edifices, for fear that there might yet be found new and better quarries.

Despite his ambition to work in a broader field, Dr. Draper's chief work as an historian was the editing and publication of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections.* Ten large octavo volumes of 500 pages each were issued under his editorship. These constitute a vast mass of original material bearing upon the history of the State, particularly the pre-territoral epoch: all of it gathered by Dr. Draper, either through personal solicitation of manuscripts from prominent early pioneers, or by means of interviews with old-time celebrities, white and red, by the doctor himself. In the

[1] This work was completed by the present writer, and published by The Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, in 1895.

garnering of these materials for the early history of Wisconsin, the busy secretary traveled thousands of miles, wrote thousands of letters, and interviewed hundreds of individuals. Each paper in the ten volumes was carefully edited and annotated by this untiring worker, who brought to bear upon every important point a wealth of correlative illustration or needed correction. These volumes, a storehouse of original data bearing upon the history of our State, are enough of themselves fully to establish his reputation as an historical specialist. Their incalculable value to Western historians has been frequently attested by the best of authority—Bancroft, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Lossing, and others of lesser note, having frequently complimented Dr. Draper upon their excellence and practical importance, and emphasized the debt which students of American history will always owe to him for them. Having at last become rare, and being much sought after by libraries, teachers, and students in general, the legislature of 1903 ordered a page-for-page reprint of the ten Draper volumes.

Recognizing that his physical vigor was waning, yet as ambitious to complete his greater works as in his earlier years, and quite as confident that he would succeed in the task, Dr. Draper retired from the service of the Society at the close of the year 1886. Unfortunately for himself, he had accumulated so vast a flood of material that at last it was beyond his control; and although ever hopeful of soon commencing in earnest, he could but contemplate his work with awe. He thenceforth made no important progress.

"Still puttering," he often mournfully replied, when I would inquire as to what he was doing; but his countenance would at once lighten as he cheerfully continued, "Well, I'm really going to commence on George Rogers Clark in a few days, as soon as I hear from the letters I sent to Kentucky this morning; but I am yet in doubt whether I ought to have a Boston or a New York publisher; what is your judgment?" It was ever the same story—always planning, never doing. For this Society he was one of the most practical of men, and his persistent energy was rewarded by almost phenomenal success: but our work was pressing; in his own

enterprises he could wait—until at last, like the patient cat in the familiar fable, he waited too long.

On the fifteenth of August, 1891, the doctor suffered a paralytic stroke, which was the beginning of the end. Nevertheless, when partially recovered, he bravely returned to his desk, still confident that his projected series of a dozen huge biographies would yet leap from his pen when he was at last ready. Thus, full of hope, although physically feeble, he toiled on until again paralysis laid him low, and on the twenty-sixth passed quietly to the hereafter, his great ambition unattained, his Carcasonne unreached. Death had rung down the curtain on this tragedy of a life's desire.

Short and slight of stature, Dr. Draper was a bundle of nervous activity. Almost to the last, his seventy-six years sat easily on his shoulders. Light and rapid of step, he was as agile as many a youth, despite the fact that he was seldom in perfect health. His delicately-cut features, which exhibited great firmness of character and the powers of intense mental concentration, readily brightened with the most winning of smiles. By nature and by habit he was a recluse. His existence had been largely passed among his books and manuscripts, and he cared absolutely nothing for those social alliances and gatherings which delight the average man. Long abstention from general intercourse with men with whom he had no business to transact, rendered him diffident in forming acquaintances, and wrongly gained for him the reputation of being unapproachable. To him who had a legitimate errand thither, the latch-string of the fire-proof library and working "den"—which was hidden in a dense tangle of lilacs and crab trees in the rear of the bibliophile's residence—was always out, and the literary hermit was found to be a most amiable gentleman and a charming, indeed often merry, conversationalist; for few kept better informed on current events, or had at command a richer fund of entertaining reminiscences, and he possessed that saving grace of humor which prevented his relapse into the temperament of the "dry-as-dust." To know Dr. Draper was to admire him as a man of generous impulses, who wore his heart upon his sleeve, was the soul of purity

and honor, did not understand what duplicity meant, and was sympathetic to a fault.

If not a great man, he was to his generation an eminently useful one. He was perhaps the most successful of all collectors of material for American border history; and it will ever be a source of deep regret to historical students that his unfortunate temperament as a writer, combined with the burden of his duties in behalf of this Society, prevented him from giving to the world that important series of biographies for which he so eagerly planned two-thirds of a century ago. He generously left to us his materials—so much bricks and stone, ready for the aspiring architects of the future. These will always be of incalculable value to original workers in many branches of Western history; yet it would have been far better if Dr. Draper, who best knew the relative value of the documents and notes he had so laboriously collected, could have himself interpreted his material.

But even had Dr. Draper never been a collector of border lore, never entertained ambitions in a broader field, his work for this Society has of itself been sufficient to earn for him the lasting gratitude of the people of Wisconsin, and of all American historical students. The Society's library, which he practically founded and so successfully managed and purveyed for through a third of a century—and even fought for, in many a day when its future looked dark indeed—will remain an enduring monument to his tireless energy as a collector of Americana; while these first ten volumes of *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* which we are now reprinting, attest to his quality as an editor of material for Western history. Thus measured, the life of this gentle scholar, of noble purpose, of wondrous zeal and self-denial in our cause, was successful in a high degree.[1]

[1] For a late treatment of Draper's life and work, see chapter, "The Draper Manuscripts," in the present writer's *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest, and other Essays in Western History* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903), pp. 335–359.

Bibliography of Lyman C. Draper

Dr. Draper wrote many newspaper articles, signed and unsigned, on historical, literary, and political subjects. He was the author also of numerous addresses, appeals, and leaflets, in the line of his work as collector and as secretary of this Society. It is unnecessary fully to enumerate such ephemeral matter in the following list; although there are included therein a few items of this class, which have some biographical interest.

In the matter of his unpublished works, the two only are noted which apparently were finished ready for the printer. As mentioned in the preceding Memoir, his re-editing of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* was perhaps one-third done; the *Life of Boone* had possibly been half finished; and upon others of his contemplated works he had made some progress, although for the most part meagre and tentative.

Newspaper and Magazine Articles

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last of the signers. In Rochester (N. Y.) *Gem*, April 6, 1833.

Memoir of Weatherford, an Indian warrior. In Rochester (N. Y.) *Gem*, April 26, 1834.

Wilson's banditti—a Western reminiscence. In Rochester (N. Y.) *Gem*, June 11, 1836.

Gen. George Rogers Clark. In Perry (Wyoming county, N. Y.) *Democrat*, January 29, 1845.

Adventures of Capt. Robert Stobo, with some notice of La Force and Van Braam. In *The Olden Time* (Pittsburgh, Pa., August, 1846), i., p. 370.

The Shawnee expedition in 1756. In *The Virginia Historical Register* (Richmond, January, 1852), v., p. 20.

The Expedition against the Shawanoe Indians in 1756. *Ibid* (April, 1852), p. 61.

Books

Madison, the capital of Wisconsin: its growth, progress, condition, wants, and capabilities. Madison: Calkins & Proudfit, 1857. 8vo. pp. 48.

Tenth annual report on the condition and improvement of the common schools and educational interests of the state of Wisconsin, for the year 1858. By Lyman C. Draper, state superintendent of public instruction. Madison: Published by the state, 1858. 8vo. pp. 397.

Eleventh annual report (as above). Madison: Published by the state, 1859. 8vo. p. 205.

(Compiled in connection with W. A. Croffut.) A helping hand for town and country: an American home book of practical and scientific information concerning house and lawn; garden and orchard, field, barn and stable; apiary and fish pond; workshop and dairy; and the many important interests pertaining to domestic economy and family health. Introduction by Horace Greeley. Illustrated. Cincinnati: Chas. F. Wilstach & Co., 1870. 8vo. pp. 821.

King's mountain and its heroes: history of the battle of King's mountain, October 7th, 1780, and the events which led to it. Portraits, maps, and plans. Cincinnati: Peter G. Thomson, 1881. 8vo. pp. 612.

(Edited.) Narrative of a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789–90. By Maj. Samuel S. Forman. With a memoir and illustrative notes by Lyman C. Draper. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1888. 12mo. pp. 67.

An essay on the autographic collections of the signers of the declaration of independence and of the constitution. From Vol. 10, Wisconsin Historical Society Collections. Revised and enlarged. Portrait of author. New York: Burns & Son, 1889. 4to. pp. 117.

In Wisconsin Historical Collections

(Edited.) Wisconsin Historical Collections. Vols. 1–10. Madison, 1855–88. 8vo.

Eulogy on Robert M. Sully. Vol. 2, 1855, pp. 63–71.

(Edited.) Colonel Shaw's narrative. Vol. 2, 1855, pp. 197–232.

(Edited.) Augustin Grignon's recollections. Vol. 3, 1856, pp. 195–295.

Historical notices of De Louvigny, Perrot, De Lignery, De Beaujeu, Marin, Du Buisson, De Villiers, De Noyelle, and St. Ange. Vol. 5, 1868, pp. 108–122.

Note on Hole-in-the-day. Vol. 5, 1868, pp. 400, 401.

Additional note on the younger Hole-in-the-day. Vol. 5, 1868, pp. 408, 409.

Michael St. Cyr, an early Dane county pioneer. Vol. 6, 1872, pp. 397–400.

Sketch of the life and services of Hon. George Hyer. Vol. 6, 1872, pp. 136–149.

Notice of Match-e-ke-wis, the captor of Mackinaw. Vol. 7, 1876, pp. 188–194.

Ancient copper implements. How fabricated. Vol. 8, 1879, pp. 165–167.

Additional notes on Eleazer Williams. Vol. 8, 1879, pp. 358–369.

(Edited.) Traditions and recollections of Prairie du Chien, as related by B. W. Brisbois, and noted down and annotated by Lyman C. Draper. Vol. 9, 1882, pp. 282–302.

Sketch of Hon. Charles H. Larrabee. Vol. 9, 1882, pp. 366–388.

Early French forts in western Wisconsin. Vol. 10, 1888, pp. 321–372.

Autograph collections of the signers of the declaration of independence and of the constitution. Vol. 10, 1888, pp. 373–447.

Wisconsin necrology, 1874–82. Vols. 7–10, 1876–88.

Miscellaneous Publications

Moral and religious instruction in public schools. Madison: 1858. 4to. pp. 4.

Prehistoric Wisconsin antiquities. [Madison]: 1881. 8vo. pp. 4.

Sketches of Arthur Campbell and George Rogers Clark. In Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Biography, vol. 1, 1888.

In Manuscript, Unpublished

The Mecklenburg declaration: its origin, history and actors. With a bibliography of its literature, and explanatory documents. pp. 474, folio.

(Joint author, with C. W. Butterfield.) Border forays and adventures: being romantic passages in American history, embracing the most striking episodes and incidents from the first settlement of the country to the close of the Revolution. From the frontiers of New York and Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. About 400 pp., folio.

Early Records of the Society, 1849-54[1]

Preliminary Meeting

At a meeting of several citizens of the State of Wisconsin, held at the American Hotel in the Village of Madison, on Monday evening Jany. 29th, 1849, for the purpose of taking into consideration Measures for forming a State Historical Society.

John Y. Smith was called to the Chair and E. M. Williamson appointed Secretary.

The object of the Meeting having been stated by Hon. E. Root,

On Motion, G. Reed & E. Root were chosen a Committee to draft a Constitution & circulate a call for a meeting for the formation of a Society.

On Motion, Voted as the sense of this Meeting that his Excellency Gov. Dewey be President of the Society.

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[1] Each of the first ten volumes of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, now being reprinted, contained a synopsis of the Annual Reports of the Society's executive committee, summarizing the progress of the institution since the issue of the preceding volume. Volume i (1855) contains the report of progress for 1854; but only slight allusion is therein made to the five preceding years, during which the Society accomplished little. After the reorganization in 1853 (see "Brief History of the Society," in *Memorial Volume*, issued in 1901, pp. 95 et seq.), the first organization was ignored, succeeding annual meetings being renumbered from the time of the reorganization. Following the issue of volume x, the Society (com-

On Motion, Voted that the Secretary request some suitable person to address the Meeting on tomorrow evening explaining the objects & benefits of the Society and to urge a cooperation on the part of the citizens of the State.

JOHN Y. SMITH, Chairman.
E. M. WILLIAMSON, Secretary.

A true Copy; Attest, C. LORD, Rec. Sec.

The First Organization

Pursuant to public notice, a number of citizens of Wisconsin convened in the senate chamber at Madison on Monday evening Jan. 30th, 1849.

Mr. Eleazer Root, of Waukesha, was called to the Chair, and Gen. Wm. R. Smith of Iowa was appointed Secretary.

The object of the Meeting was stated by Mr. John Y. Smith, to be that of forming an Historical Society of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr Hobart offered the following resolution,

Resolved: That it is expedient to organize a State Historical Society.

And the Resolution being under consideration, the meeting was addressed by Judge Larrabee, Samuel Crawford, Wm. R. Smith and Alfred Bronson Esqrs.

The resolution was adopted.

George Reed Esq. moved that a Committee of three be appointed to draft a constitution for the society,—Which was adopted.

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mencing with 1887) published its *Proceedings* in separate form, and thereafter reserved the *Collections* for legitimate historical material. The transactions of the Society under its first organization have, accordingly, not heretofore been published; we here reproduce them verbatim from the manuscript records of the corporation, as kept by the two first recording secretaries, Charles Lord and John W. Hunt. Thus there is now published the continuous records of the Society from 1849 to the present day: (1) The Early Records, herewith, 1849–54; (2) the synoptical reports, in the first ten volumes of *Collections*, 1854–85; (3) *Proceedings*, 1886 to date.—R. G. T.

Messrs George Reed, John Y. Smith and I. A. Lapham were appointed such committee, who reported a constitution, which was read section by section, amended and adopted.

The following gentlemen gave in their names to the Secretary as members of the Society.[1]

Wm. R. Smith	Iowa County	
Samuel Crawford	"	"
Erastus W. Drury	Fond du Lac County.	
Alexander Botkin	Dane	"
Julius T. Clark	"	"
George B. Smith	"	"
Harrison C. Hobart	Sheboygan	"
John W. Boyd	Walworth	"
J. M. Gillett	Fond du Lac	"
Thomas W. Sutherland	Dane	"
Alexander T. Gray	"	"
John Delaney	Portage	"
John Favill	Dane	"
E. M. Williamson	"	"
David Atwood	"	"
Alfred Bronson	Crawford	"
William Hull	Grant	"
George W. Bicknell	Rock	"
I. A. Lapham	Milwaukee	"
John Y. Smith	Dane	"
Charles Lord	"	"
Joseph Bowron	St. Croix	"
William Dutcher	Jefferson	"
Peter W. Matts	Dane	"
Agostin Haraszthy	Sauk	"
J. Gillet Knapp	Dane	"
Eleazer Root	Waukesha	"
Royal Buck	Dane	"
Myron B. Williams	Jefferson	"
Joseph Kerr	Columbia	"
Michael Frank	Racine	"
E. T. Gardner	Green	"
John C. Crawford	"	"
Nelson Dewey	Grant	"
Chas. H. Larrabee	Dodge	"

[1] This list was kept open for additions, many of the names not being signed until later years.—R. G. T.

George Reed	Waukesha	County
John Catlin	Dane	"
Beriah Brown	"	"
Wm. R. Smith	Iowa	"
Jonathan E. Arnold	Milwaukee	"
Abram D. Smith	"	"
Cyrus Woodman	Iowa	"
Montgomery M. Cothren	"	"
Rudolph Van Dyke Smith	St. Croix	"
C. S. Chase	Racine	"
T. L. Wright	Rock	"
J. W. Sterling	Dane	"
H. A. Tenney	"	"
J. Wright	"	"
M. L. Martin	Brown	"
G. W. Featherstonhaugh	Calumet	"
J. T. Lewis	Columbia	"
Hiram Barber	Dodge	"
M. M. Jackson	Iowa	"
John E. Holmes	Jefferson	"
Charles Dunn	La Fayette	"
—— Dake	La Pointe	"
J. H. W. Colby	Manitowoc	"
Anson Dart	Marquette	"
Solomon Juneau	Milwaukee	"
James D. Doty	Winnebago	"
Frederick S. Lovell	Racine	"
Edward V. Whiton	Rock	"
D. M. Keeler	Walworth	"
Benj. H. Moores	Washington	"
Benj. Holt	Dane	"
Henry W. Tenney	Milwaukee	"
Benj. C. Eastman	Grant	"
Malcolm Sellers	Dodge	"
Samuel W. Beall	Fond du Lac	"
Duncan C. Reed	Milwaukee	"
I. O. Bennett	Racine	"
O. M. Conover	Dane	"
M. M. Strong	Iowa	"
J. W. Hunt M. D.	Waukesha	"
Geo. Gale	Walworth	"
Francis Randall	Milwaukee	"
John H. Meigs	Waukesha	"
G. D. Wilber M. D.	Iowa	"
G. P. Delaplaine	Dane	"

John H. Rountree	Grant	County
Byron Kilbourn	Milwaukee	"
A. W. Randall	Waukesha	"
Levi Hubbell	Milwaukee	"
F. Hudson	Dane	"
A. G. Ellis	Brown	"
James Maxwell	Sauk	"
B. B. Cary	Racine	"
Philo White	"	"
W. H. Dick	Calumet	"
W. R. Beddlecome	Grant	"
H. A. Wright	Crawford	"
E. W. Drury	Fond du Lac	"
A. C. Ingham	Winnebago	"
J. S. Rupell	Grant	"
M. C. Darling	Fond du Lac	"
C. B. Chapman	Dane	"
Cyrus R. Low	Grant	"
Ebenezer Brigham	Dane	"
John A. Bryan	Milwaukee	"
Daniel Claghorn	Adams	"
W. S. Tibbets	Bad Ax	"
Wm. T. Sterling	Chippewa	"
Wyram Knowlton	Crawford	"
Chas. Pember	Door	"
Jno. W. Stewart	Greene	"
A. P. Ladd	La Fayette	"
Chas. Pulsifer	La Pointe	"
W. P. McIndoe	Marathon	"
Daniel Jones	Oconto	"
Geo. W. Mitchell	Portage	"
Marshall M. Strong	Racine	"
—— Hazeltine	Richland	"
Otis Hoyt	St Croix	"
G. D. G. Moore	Sauk	"
Lewis N. Wood	Walworth	"
W. A. Barstow	Waukesha	"
J. A. Townsend	"	"
L. J. Farwell	Dane	"
L. C. Draper	"	"
Samuel Marshall	"	"
A. M. Blair	Washington	"
Moses Leland	Milwaukee	"
Geo. R. McLane	Waukesha	"
John W. Cary	Racine	"

Simeon Mills	Dane	County
E Daniels		
S. H. Carpenter	Dane	"
H. A. Wright	Crawford	"

On motion of Mr. Crawford a committee consisting of Messrs. Crawford, Sutherland, Hobart, Bronson and Lapham were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the Society.

The Committee reported the following names for officers:

For President—Nelson Dewey.

For Vice Presidents—

Morgan L. Martin	Brown	County
Geo. W. Featherstonhaugh	Calumet	"
J. T. Lewis	Columbia	"
Alfred Bronson	Crawford	"
John Y. Smith	Dane	"
Hiram Barber	Dodge	"
John H. Rountree	Grant	"
John C. Crawford	Greene	"
Mortimer M. Jackson	Iowa	"
John E. Holmes	Jefferson	"
Charles Dunn	La Fayette	"
—— Dake	La Pointe	"
J. H. W. Colby	Manitowoc	"
Anson Dart	Marquette	"
Solomon Juneau	Milwaukee	"
John Delaney	Portage	"
James D. Doty	Winnebago	"
Frederick S. Lovell	Racine	"
Edward V. Whiton	Rock	"
Agostin Haraszthy	Sauk	"
Harrison C. Hobart	Sheboygan	"
Joseph Bowron	St. Croix	"
D. M. Keeler	Walworth	"
Benj. H. Moores	Washington	"
George Reed	Waukesha	"

For Recording Secretary—Charles Lord, of Madison, Dane Co.

For Corresponding Secretary—I. A. Lapham, of Milwaukee.

For Treasurer—E. M. Williamson, of Madison.

For Executive Committee—John Catlin, Beriah Brown, Alexander Botkin, of Madison.

Your Committee would also present to the society the name of William R. Smith, of Iowa County, as a suitable person to deliver an address before this Society at its next annual meeting, and Jonathan E. Arnold of Milwaukee as a substitute.

All of which report was accepted and adopted.

Mr. Lapham offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the surveyors throughout this state be requested to furnish this Society with sketches from actual measurements of the ancient mounds and artificial earth-works in their vicinity.

Which was adopted.

Mr. Sutherland offered the following:

Resolved, That the editors of the several newspapers in the State be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

The meeting then adjourned.

ELEAZER ROOT, Ch'n.
WM. R. SMITH, Sec'y.

A true copy, Attest, C. LORD, Rec. Sec.

Constitution of the Historical Society of Wisconsin

SECTION 1. This Society shall be called "The Historical Society of Wisconsin."

SEC. 2. The objects of the Society shall be to preserve the materials for a complete history of Wisconsin embracing the antiquities, and the history of the Indian tribes.

SEC. 3. The officers of the Society shall be a president, one vice president in each county, a recording Secretary who shall reside at the seat of government, a corresponding Secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee of three members residing at the seat of government.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all the meetings of the Society, and in his absence the senior vice president shall preside.

SEC. 5. The recording secretary shall keep a fair and correct record of the proceedings of the Society, and preserve all books, documents, manuscripts, or other things that may be presented to the Society.

SEC. 6. The corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society.

Sec. 7. The treasurer shall take charge of the funds of the Society and pay them out on the order of the executive committee.

Sec. 8. The executive committee shall have charge of the affairs of the Society and shall make report of their operations, and of the condition of the Society at each annual meeting.

Sec. 9. The Society shall at each annual meeting appoint and notify some suitable person to deliver an address at the next succeeding annual meeting.

Sec. 10. The several officers of this Society shall hold their offices for one year and until their successors are duly elected.

Sec. 11. Any person may become a member of this Society by signing the constitution or authorizing the secretary to do so.

Sec. 12. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society held at the seat of government, on the Wednesday next succeeding the commencement of the annual session of the legislature.

Sec. 13. The Society may make such by-laws for its own government as shall be deemed proper and necessary, and at any annual meeting a majority of the members present shall have power to revise and amend the same.

Sec. 14. This constitution may be altered or amended at any annual meeting of the society on the vote of two thirds of the members present.

By-Laws

No. 1. All original communications, intended to be considered as the transactions of this Society shall be read before it at its annual meeting.

No. 2. A standing committee of reference shall be appointed by the Chair, at the annual meetings of the Society, to whom all communications shall be referred, unless otherwise ordered, and whose duty it shall be to examine and report to the Society what papers and parts of papers, in their opinion ought to be published as the transactions of the Society, which report shall be considered by the Society and approved, modified or rejected as may be deemed proper.

No. 3. The President of the Society or in his absence the presiding officer shall appoint at each anniversary meeting a Committee of three members to select some proper person to deliver the next annual address, and they shall continue to act till such appointment shall be effected.

Meeting of January 12, 1850

At a special meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society held at the Library Rooms of the Capitol at Madison, on the evening of the 12th of Jan. 1850, Gov. Dewey, Pres., took the chair and called for a statement of the object of the Meeting.

Gen. W^m. R. Smith replied that being unable to procure a place for the delivery of the annual discourse on the day of the Annual Meeting of the Society, some measures must be taken to secure a place on some other day.

Whereupon Rev. A. Bronson moved, seconded by H. C. Hobart, Esq., that a committee of three be appointed as a Committee of Arrangement.

H. C. Hobart, of Sheboygan, Mr. Keuhn of Manitowoc, and M. M. Cothren of Iowa, were appointed said Committee.

The Society adjourned to meet again at the same place on Monday Evening the 14th inst.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec'y.

Monday Evening, Jan. 14, 1850.

The Society met according to adjournment, the Pres, Gov. Dewey, in the Chair.

The committee of arrangements to procure a place for the Annual Discourse reported that the Hall of the Assembly had been secured for Tuesday the 15th inst. at 2 o clock.

The report was adopted.

The Society directed their Secretary to invite the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Board of Regents to be present at the Annual Discourse tomorrow.

A. H. Smith, A. D. Smith, & J. Y. Smith, were chosen a committee to wait upon the Society tomorrow in the Hall in a body to listen to the Discourse. The Society then adjourned.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

First Annual Address

TUESDAY Jan. 15th, 2 oclock P. M.

The Society & invited guests were escorted by their committee to the Assembly Hall, where being called to order by their Pres. they listened to a discourse from Gen. Wm. R. Smith, elaborated in its researches and felicitous in its style. Classified in its tone and pervaded throughout with a spirit of accuracy and of beauty and by a warm sympathy with the truth uttered and the events and persons described.

The Discourse being concluded, A. D. Smith offered a Resolution, prefaced by a few appropriate remarks that 2000 copies of it be printed for the use of the Society and 500 of them be deposited in the Library of the same, subject to its disposal,— Which Resolution was adopted. The Pres. then adjourned the Society to the Library to meet at 4 oclock on Wednesday the 16th inst.

C. LORD, Rec. Sec.

First Annual Meeting

WEDNESDAY the 16th Jan. 1850.

Society met for its Annual Meeting at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in the Room of the Library.

Gov. Dewey, Pres. in the Chair.

J. W. Hunt presented the Society a "Patent Deed," having the Great Seal of the State of New York annexed, of the date of 1794, to whom the thanks of the Society were returned. The thanks of the Society were also presented to Mr. Ludwig of New York for his present, noticed in the Annual Report.

Gen. Smyth, I. A. Lapham, & J. Delaney were appointed to select a gentleman to give the next annual Discourse. They reported the name of J. E. Arnold, Esq. of Milwaukee, as Principal, and M. L. Martin, Esq., of Green Bay, as a substitute. Their report was adopted.

The Annual Report being called for, it was read and on Motion of G. B. Smith was accepted on file. On Motion of M. M. Cothren the officers of last year were continued with the exception of 4 Vice Presidents; viz. Agostin Haraszthy, of Sauk, removed from the County; Solomon Juneau, of Milwaukee, also removed; Benj. H. Moores, of Washington, also removed; and George Reed, of Waukesha, also removed.

The Society then chose the following persons to be Vice Presidents in their place: viz. C. Creswell, of Sauk; J. E. Arnold, of Milwaukee; C. H. Larrabee, of Washington; and A. W. Randall, of Waukesha.

On motion of G. B. Smith the Journal recommended by the State Sup. to be established under the sanction of the Legislature, was selected as the organ of the "Wisconsin Historical Society."

On motion, adjourned to Thursday the 17th inst. at 7 o'clock in the evening.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

Thursday Evening, Jan. 17th.

Society met according to adjournment. In the absence of the Pres., A. Bronson Sen. Vice Pres. took the Chair.

A communication from J. Hathaway on Indian names, and one from A. Bronson on names in the State, was ordered to be put on file.

A communication from A. Bronson on the Ancient Mounds, or Tumuli of Crawford County, was communicated to the Committee of reference.

By-Laws Nos. 1 & 2. were made [see above].

The Pres. appointed, according to By-Law No. 2., the following as a Committee of Reference for the present year: B. Kilbourn, W. R. Smith, and C. Lord.

On Motion of H. C. Hobart it was voted that Gov. Doty be requested to prepare for our next Annual Meeting a paper on Indian names.

On Motion of the same, I. A. Lapham was requested to furnish one on the Minerals of the State. Adjourned till to tomorrow evening the 18th inst.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

Friday Evening 7 o'clock.

Society met with A. Bronson Sen. V. Pres. in the Chair.

Committee of Reference reported on Communication No. 2. on the Ancient Mounds or Tumuli in Crawford, that all of it be published as the transactions of the Society except so much as related to mormonism.

The report was accepted and adopted.

Mr. F. Hudson, having presented the 2 first Vols. of the publication of the Ethnological Society to the Wis. Hist. Soc., its thanks were unanimously returned to him.

J. Y. Smith offered the following Resolution.

Resolved, that the Secretary of this Society be authorized to select from the Communications on file, and not recommended for publication by the Standing Committee of reference, Such as he may deem to be of sufficient interest, to be published with the consent and over the signature of the writers.

Which was adopted.

On Motion, an account of the Society's proceedings was ordered to be published.

The Society then adjourned Sine die.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

Second Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society was held on the 15th of January 1851 at Madison in the Library Room of the Capitol. Gov. Dewey in the Chair.

There being no papers to be read & the Executive Committee having no Report to submit, the Society proceeded to the election of officers for the following year.

On Motion all the officers of the preceding year were reelected with the addition of E. W. Drury, of Fond du Lac, for Vice President for that County.

Messrs. Rountree of Grant, Reed of Milwaukee, and Gale of Walworth were chosen a committee to make arrangements for the Annual Address of the Hon. M. L. Martin.

On Motion Adjourned to the call of the above Committee.

C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

Thursday Evening, Jan. 16th.

Society met at the call of the Committee at half past six o'clock in the Library:—Gov. Dewey in the Chair.

The Committee of Arrangement Reported that the use of the Assembly Hall had been procured for the address of Mr. Martin on this evening.

The following resolutions, introduced by J. W. Hurst, were passed.

Resolved, That the Regents of the University of the State of New York be requested to donate to this Society one copy of the Documentary History of New York, also one copy of each of the Numbers of "The Proceedings of the New York State Agricultural Society."

Resolved, That Hon. Joseph Bond of Waukesha City be requested to furnish a paper on Indian appellations, and such other matters connected with the Geographical History of the State as he may deem of interest.

On Motion, Messrs. Rountree, of Grant, and Darling of Fond du Lac were appointed a Committee to select a Primary and Substitute for the Annual address next year.

On Motion, the Annual Address was postponed, partly on account of the weather and partly on account of another appointment for the same evening, till next week. The same committee of arrangements was continued.

On Motion, Society adjourned to the call of said Committee.

C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

Second Annual Address

TUESDAY Jan 21, 1851.

Society met at the call of the Committee at the Library, at three o'clock P. M. and adjourned immediately to hear the annual address by the Hon. M. L. Martin, in the Hall of the Assembly.

After this address, which was replete with facts illustrative of our early history and written in a style truly beautiful and presented with scholarly dignity and elegance, the Society adjourned to the Governor's Room.

On Motion,

Resolved, so to amend the Constitution that each member shall pay fifty cents tax annually.

Resolved, That the Sec'y procure the publication of the address of Mr. Martin.

The Committee to select an Orator for next year, Reported the name of Levi Hubbell, of Milwaukee, as Principal, and of E. V. Whiton, of Rock, as substitute.

On Motion of M. C. Darling, a Circular was ordered to be sent by the Secretary to each Vice President, or to some interested person in each County requesting them to present facts and data respecting the settlement of their respective Counties, to be preserved by this Society for future use.

Resolved, That Gen. Wm. R. Smith be paid Ten Dollars out of the funds of the Society to reimburse him in the expense incurred in publishing his own address for the year 1850.

Adjourned, Sine die.

C. LORD, Rec. Secy.

Third Annual Meeting

MADISON, WEDNESDAY, Jan. 21, 1852.

The Wisconsin Historical Society met at the Library in the Capitol.

On Motion of Gen. Wm. R. Smith, meeting adjourned to Thursday evening.

THURSDAY EVENING, Jan. 22, 1852.

Meeting was called to order by the Secretary and on Motion of Hon. Geo. Gale, Gen. Wm. R. Smith was appointed President, Pro-tem.

I. A. Lapham and C. Lord were appointed a committee to wait on His Excellency the Governor and request him to procure for the Society one copy each of the Laws and Journals of the State according to a Resolution of the Legislature, passed at its session in 1849.

On Motion of Hon. D. C. Reed, Society adjourned to Friday evening, the 23rd inst.

FRIDAY EVENING, Jan. 23, 1852.

Society was called to order by Gen. Wm. R. Smith, Pres. Protem.

On Motion, it was ordered that the record of the Constitution of the Society be so altered as to make the Governor of the State ex-officio President of the Society.

Messrs. E. Root & A. H. Smith were appointed a committee to wait on His Excellency Gov. Farwell and request him to take the Chair as Pres. of the Society.

The Society came into possession of the Laws and Journals donated to the Society by the State.

On Motion of Gen. Smith the Society proceeded to the choice of officers for the present year and the following persons were appointed.

His Excellency, L. J. Farwell, *President.* (by Constitution.)

For Vice Presidents—

Daniel Claghorn, . . .	Adams	County
W. S. Tibbets, ...	Bad Ax	"
M. L. Martin, ...	Brown	"
W. H. Dick, ...	Calumet	"
W. T. Sterling, . . .	Chippewa	"
J. T. Lewis	Columbia	"
W. Knowlton	Crawford	"
J. Y. Smith	Dane	"
H. Barber, ...	Dodge	"

Chas. Pember	Door	County
M. C. Darling	Fond du Lac	"
N. Dewey	Grant	"
J. W. Stewart	Greene	"
W. R. Smith	Iowa	"
J. E. Holmes	Jefferson	"
F. S. Lovell	Kenosha	"
George Gale	La Crosse	"
A. P. Ladd	La Fayette	"
Chas. Pulsifer	La Pointe	"
George Reed	Manitowoc	"
W. P. Mc.Indoe	Marathon	"
E. Root	Marquette	"
D. C. Reed	Milwaukee	"
Daniel James	Oconto	"
Theodore Conkey	Outagamie	"
G. W. Mitchell	Portage	"
M. M. Strong	Racine	"
—— Hazeltine	Richland	"
E. V. Whiton	Rock	"
Otis Hoyt	St. Croix	"
G. D. G. Moore	Sauk	"
H. C. Hobart	Sheboygan	"
L. N. Wood	Walworth	"
F. W. Horn	Washington	"
W. A. Barstow	Waukesha	"
	Waupaca	"
J. Townsend	Waushara	"
J. D. Doty	Winnebago	"

For Corresponding Secretary—I. A. Lapham, Milwaukee.

For Recording Secy & Treasurer—C. Lord, Madison.

For Executive Committee—John Catlin, Beriah Brown, Alex. Botkin, Madison.

On Motion of Mr. Lapham, Gen. W. R. Smith was chosen to deliver the next annual address.

On Motion of Alex. Botkin, S. M. Booth was selected as his alternate.

The Executive Committee were requested to procure an address, if possible, this winter.

On Motion of I. A. Lapham, letters of thanks were directed to be sent to all those Societies, bodies & individuals who have presented volumes, or other donations, to this Society, and especially to W^m. D. Hawes, Esq. of Washington, D. C.

The Treasurer's Report was heard & accepted.

The Corresponding Sec. announced the receipt of the following works, viz:

Vols 1st & 2nd. of Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, from the Smithsonian Institute.

Part 1st. History, Condition & Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U. States, by Schoolcraft, from Luke Lee, Com. of Indian Affairs.

Vol. 1st. Documentary History of New York, from the Regents of University, in behalf of sd. State.

Transactions of New York State Agricultural Society for 1849; from same source.

Transactions of the American Institute for the year 1849; from same source.

New York State Cabinet of Natural History; from same source.

The Annual Addresses of Gen. W. R. Smith & M. L. Martin have been sent to the following Societies during the past year:

Hist. Soc. of Maine, Brunswick, Me.
" " " New Hampshire, Concord, N. H.
Vermont Hist. & Antiquarian Soc., Montpelier, Vt.
Hist. Soc. of Mass., Boston, Mass.
New Eng. Hist. & Genealogical Soc., Boston, Mass.
Hist. Soc. of R. I., Providence, R. I.
" " " Ct., Hartford, Ct.
" " " N. Y., New York.
" " " N. J., Newark, N. J.
" " " Pa., Philadelphia.
" " " Md., Baltimore.
" " " Va., Richmond.
" " " Ga., Savannah.
" " " Ky., Louisville.
" " " Ia., Indianapolis.
" " " Min., St. Paul.
" & Phil. Soc. of Ohio, Cincinnati.
" " " " " Mo., Jefferson City.
" " Geol. Inst., " Iowa, Burlington.

On motion of A. Botkin the Rec. Secretary was directed to notify, through the papers, all members in arrears to pay the same to the Society.

On Motion, Society adjourned Sine die.

C. Lord, Rec^d. Secy.

Third Annual Address

The Society met in the Hall of the Assembly on the 16th March 1852 and listened to an address by L. N. Wood, Member of the Assembly; which has been published and copies sent to those entitled to them.

C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

Fourth Annual Meeting

Madison, Jan. 19th, 1853.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society met in the room of the Governor, at the Capitol, for its fourth Annual Meeting.

The President, His Excellency L. J. Farwell, in the Chair.

The Report of the Recording Secretary and Treasurer was read and adopted.

The Society then proceeded to the choice of officers, as follows:

His Excellency, L. J. Farwell, *President* (by the constitution).
The Vice Presidents same as last year.
For Corresponding Secretary—I. A. Lapham, Milwaukee.
For Recording Secretary—C. Lord, Madison.
For Treasurer—A. C. Ingham, Madison.
For Executive Com.—L. C. Draper, J. W. Hunt, Saml. Marshall, Madison.

The following new Members were received viz. L. C. Draper, Samuel Marshall, A. M. Blair, Moses Leland, Geo. R. Mc. Lane, and Jno. W. Cary.

On Motion, the Society Resolved that the Amendment to the eleventh Article of the Constitution be so amended that the annual fee of membership shall be One Dollar.

Resolved also that the names of those members who are in arrears three years for the annual tax shall be erased from the list of Membership.

By-Law, No. 3d. was then adopted.

On Motion, it was

Resolved that the Executive Committee shall have power to appropriate

any surplus funds in the Treasury for the purchase of rare works illustrative of the history of Wisconsin, or of the West in general.

On Motion the Society adjourned.

Attest, C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

Meeting of January 12, 1853

Madison Jany., 28th, 1853.

The State Historical Society met at the Capitol. L. J. Farwell in the Chair.

The Records of the last meeting were read. Gen. Wm. R. Smith explained why he did not deliver the Annual address, which reasons were considered satisfactory.

Hon. Judge Larrabee introduced and read a copy of a charter for the Society to be asked of the Legislature.

On Motion it was Resolved that the Charter presented be referred to a committee of three to be perfected and presented to the Legislature for its action.

The President appointed J. T. Lewis, W. R. Smith, and L. C. Draper, on such committee.

On Motion,

Resolved that the executive committee be and they are hereby authorized to select Honorary Members for this Society and report at the next annual meeting.

On Motion adjourned.

Attest, C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

Meeting of March 14, 1853

Madison, March 14th 1853.

The State Historical Society met at the Capitol in the Executive Room at the call of the Recording Secretary.

The Pres. L. J. Farwell in the Chair. After some conversation it was thought best to adjourn to the evening of March 21st at half past seven o'clock.

C. Lord, Rec'd Secy.

Chartered by the State

Madison, March 21st 1853.

The State Historical Society met according to adjournment in the same place.

The Pres. L. J. Farwell in the Chair. There were present the following members whose names were among the list of Corporation, viz. L. J. Farwell, W. R. Smith, O. M. Conover, A. C. Ingham, J. W. Hunt, L. C. Draper, Wm. H. Watson and C. Lord.

The Charter recently procured from the Legislature was read by Gen. Wm. R. Smith and on his motion was accepted.

Said Charter reads as follows, Viz.

An Act to incorporate the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The People of the State of Wisconsin represented in Senate and Assembly Do enact as follows:

1. That, Leonard J. Farwell, Mason C. Darling, William R. Smith, Charles Lord, I. A. Lapham, William H. Watson, Cyrus Woodman, James D. Doty, Morgan L. Martin, Lyman C. Draper, Saml. Marshall, John W. Hunt, Albert C. Ingham, and O. M. Conover, and their present and future associates and their successors, be and they are hereby constituted and created a body politic and corporate by the name of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and by that name shall have perpetual succession with all the faculties and liabilities of a corporation, may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, defend and be defended in all courts and places, and for the purposes of its institution may do all such acts as are performed by matured persons.

2. The object of the Society shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve in authentic form a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials, illustrative of the history of the State; to secure from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils and hardy adventures, to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present condition and resources of Wisconsin, and may take proper steps to promote the study of History by lectures, and to diffuse and publish information relating to the description and history of the State.

3. Said Society may have and use and at discretion change a common seal, may ordain and enforce a Constitution, by-laws, rules and regula-

tions, and elect such officers as the Constitution or by-laws may prescribe, provided such Constitution, by-laws, rules and regulations be not inconsistent with this act or the law or Constitution of this State or of the United States.

4. Said Society may receive, hold, purchase and enjoy books, papers and other articles forming its library and collections to any extent and may acquire and hold, and at pleasure alienate any other personal and real estate and may acquire the same by devise or bequeath or otherwise, not exceeding ten thousand dollars in value, but all its funds shall ever be faithfully appropriated to promote the objects of this formation.

5. The incorporation or a majority of them with their associates, shall meet upon the notice of the present recording Secretary of the Society, within thirty days after the passage of their Acts, and upon accepting the same may if they or a majority of them deem proper reorganize their present association in accordance with the provisions of this Chapter.

TIMOTHY BURNS, Pres. of the Senate.

HENRY L. PALMER, Speaker of the Assembly.

Approved, March 4th, 1853.

LEONARD J. FARWELL.

State of Wisconsin
Secretaries Office, S. S.

I Charles D. Robinson Secretary of State of said State do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing with the original act deposited in this office and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original.

In witness whereof I have herewith set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State at the Capitol, in Madison, this 6th day of April, A. D. 1853.

L. S.

CHARLES D. ROBINSON, Secretary of State.
By CHAS. G. MAYERS, Deputy.

Mr. Smith also read the draft of a Constitution and on motion of Mr. Conover the same was referred to a Committee of five for examination.

The Committee consisted of O. M. Conover, W. R. Smith, W. A. Watson, L. C. Draper, and C. Lord.

After a recess the said Committee reported the Constitution submitted to them back to the Society with Amendments.

Some discussion springing up, it was motioned by J. P. Hunt

that the Society adjourn to Saturday evening the 26th, at half past seven o'clock,—which was carried.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

March 26th 1853.

The State Historical Society met in the Capitol at the Executive Room, the Pres., L. J. Farwell, in the Chair.

There not being a majority of the Incorporators present no business was done.

Simeon Mills became a member of the Society.

Adjourned to Thursday evening the 31st at half past seven o'clock.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

March 31st 1853.

The State Historical Society met on adjournment at the Executive Room.

The Pres., L. J. Farwell in the Chair. At the opening of the meeting J. W. Hunt acted as Recording Secretary pro. tem.

There not being a majority of the incorporators present no business was done.

E. Daniels became a member of the Society.

On Motion the Society adjourned Sine die.

C. Lord, Rec. Sec.

Fifth Annual Meeting

Madison, Jan., 18, 1854.

The fifth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society was held at the Capitol.

In the absence of the President, Gen. W. R. Smith Vice Pres. took the Chair. The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

On Motion it was voted to amend the Constitution by adopting the following substitute.

On Motion, S. H. Carpenter and H. A. Wright were elected Members of the Society.

On Motion, the Society proceeded to the election of officers and the following persons were duly chosen.

For President—William R. Smith.

For Vice Presidents—Cyrus Woodman, Mason C. Darling, I. A. Lapham, John W. Cary, Morgan L. Martin, Nelson Dewey.

For Corresponding Secy.—Lyman C. Draper.

For Recording Secy.—Charles Lord.

For Treasurer—O. M. Conover.

For Librarian—J. W. Hunt.

For Curators—S. H. Carpenter, H. A. Wright, Beriah Brown, David Atwood, Simeon Mills, L. J. Farwell.

Mr. P. Toland, Esq. having presented a Volume of *Pennsylvania Eve. Post,* for the year 1776–77 the thanks of the society were unanimously tendered him.

Adjourned to meet on tuesday evening Jany. 24th.

C. Lord,
Secretary.

Constitution of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Article 1.—This Association shall be styled "The State Historical Society of Wisconsin." The object of the Society shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve in authentic form a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of the State, to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils and hardy adventures; to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present condition and resources of Wisconsin, and may take proper steps, to promote the study of History by lectures, and to diffuse and publish information relating to the description and history of the State.

Article 2.—This Society shall consist of Active, Life, Corresponding, and Honorary Members; all which classes may be chosen at the annual or special meetings of the Society, or at the sessions of the Executive Committee. The Active members to consist of citizens of the State by the payment of One dollar annually;—The life Members by the payment at one time of twenty dollars, The Corresponding and Honorary Members who shall be

exempt from fee or taxation, shall be chosen from persons in every part of the world, disfinguished for their literary or scientific attainments and known especially as friends and promoters of American history.

Article 3.—The officers of the Society shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meetings and shall consist of a President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, the last three of whom shall be residents of Madison, and these five officers together with six Curators, four at least of whom shall be residents of Madison, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Society. There shall also be chosen annually Six Vice Presidents not residents of Madison.

Article 4.—The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held at such time and place in the month of January as the Executive Committee shall designate; and those members, not less than ten, who thus meet at any annual or special meeting of the Society, upon the call of the Executive Committee, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

Article 5.—The President, or in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence, any member of the Society selected on the occasion, shall preside at the annual, or any special meeting of the Society; such presiding officer shall preserve order, regulate the order of proceedings, and give a casting vote whenever a case requires the same.

Article 6.—The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society; he shall preserve for the Society all official communications addressed to him, and keep a copy of all important official letters written by him; he shall read such correspondence at the meetings of Executive Committee and all such as the Committee may deem of sufficient interest and importance, he shall also read at the annual or any special meeting of the Society.

Article 7.—The Recording Secretary shall preserve a full and correct record of the proceedings of all meetings of the Society and Executive Committee, to be entered on his book in chronological order; he shall collect all monies due the Society and pay the same to the Treasurer; the proceedings of each annual or special meeting of the Society shall be read at the succeeding annual or special meeting; and the records of the Executive Committee shall be read only at each successive meeting of such Committee.

These records shall always be open for the inspection of any member of the society.

Article 8.—The Treasurer shall receive from the Recording Secretary, and have charge of all dues and donations and bequests of money, and all funds whatsoever of the society, and shall pay all such sums as the Society or the Executive Committee may from time to time direct on the

warrant of the chairman of said Committee; and he shall make an annual report of all the pecuniary transactions and accounts of the Society, and also exhibit a statement of the funds and property of the Society in his hands, at any stated or special meeting of the same when thereto required.

Article 9.—The Librarian shall have charge of all the Books, Manuscripts and other collections of the Society; he shall keep a Catalogue of the same, together with all additions made during his official term; in Case of donations, he shall specify in his record the name of the Book, Manuscript or article donated, with the name of the donor, and date of the gift; he shall make an annual report of the condition of the Library, and respond to all calls which may be made on him touching the same at any annual or special meeting of the Society, or at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

Article 10.—The Executive Committee in the absence of the President may select a Chairman from their number. They shall meet for business on the first Tuesday evening in every month, except when they see proper to adjourn for a longer period. They may meet on special occasions upon the call of the President and any two members of the Committee. They shall supervise and direct all the financial and business concerns of the Society during the current year. They may augment the Library and Collections of the Society by purchase or otherwise. They may make arrangements for a single lecture or a course of lectures for the benefit of the Society, alike in promoting historical knowledge and increasing the pecuniary resources of the Association. They shall have power to fill any vacancies occurring in the offices of the Society except in that of the President. They shall audit and adjust all accounts of the Society. They may call special meetings of the Society when necessary; appoint the annual orator, make suitable arrangements for the delivery of the annual address, use their discretion as to the publication of any communications, collections, transactions, annual or other addresses, or other written matters of the Society; and they shall annually make a full report to the Society of all their transactions, accompanied with such suggestions as may seem to them appropriate, and worthy of the attention of the Society.

Article 11.—Any failure on the part of a member, after due notice for six months, to be given by the Recording Secretary, to pay his annual or other dues, shall operate as a forfeiture of membership; and no person who may thus have lost his membership shall be restored or readmitted to the same without full payment of all his arrears.

Article 12.—The Executive Committee may if they deem proper adopt by-laws for their own government, and guidance not inconsistent with this constitution.

Article 13.—This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Society provided that the proposed amendments shall have been reduced to writing and entered on the Minutes of the Society at least three months previous to a vote being taken on the same; and provided also that two thirds of the members present shall concur in the adoption of the amendments proposed.

A true copy, Attest, C. LORD, Secy.

January 24th 1854.

Continuation of the Annual meeting of the Historical Society.

In the absence of the President J. W. Hunt was chosen Chairman.

The Report of the Executive Committee of last year was read and referred to the Executive Committee chosen under the new Constitution, except that portion of it relating to the Memorializing the Legislature.

On Motion, a Committee consisting of Gen. Smith, J. W. Hunt, L. C. Draper, J. W. Cary and C. Lord was chosen to draw up and present a Memorial as recommended in the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, to the Legislature on the subject of an appropriation to this Society.

J. W. Hunt was appointed a Committee to make arrangements for the reading of portions of Gen. Smith's History, before the Society.

On Motion the Society adjourned to call of the Recording Secretary.

C. LORD, Rec. Secy.

Meetings of Executive Committee

TUESDAY Feby 7th 1854.

Monthly meeting of the Executive Committee of State Historical Society.

Present, L. C. Draper and Proxy for D. Atwood, J. W. Hunt and Proxy for Gen. Smith, O. M. Conover and C. Lord.

J. W. Hunt Chairman.

On Motion the number constituting a quorum was fixed at four.

On Motion the office of the Secy of State was selected for the place of the meetings of the Executive Committee.

On Motion the list of Honorary and Corresponding Members read by the Corresponding Secy and on file was adopted.

On Motion the Corresponding Sec'y was authorized to write to other State Societies for copies of their transactions.

The Secy. with J. W. Hunt was appointed a Committee to correspond with the Territorial and State Governors respecting procuring their portraits for this Society.

The Society voted a letter of thanks to J. W. Biddle for his "Recollections of Green Bay in 1816 & 1817."

J. W. Hunt was appointed a Com. to collect information in regard to Indian Names in this State and their signification.

The Corresponding Secy. was authorized to open a correspondence with those persons who have in their possession files of papers giving account of the Black Hawk War, for the purpose of securing the same.

Hon. Lewis Cass was selected to give the next annual address before the Society.

The Corresponding Secy. was directed to obtain from S. G. Deth [?] his terms for a Complete Set of Niles' Annual Register from 1811 to 1850. On Motion adjourned.

C. Lord, Cor. Secy.

Feb. 18th 1854.[1]

Special Meeting of the Executive Committee called in the way provided in the Constitution.

Present—Gen. W. R. Smith, J. W. Hunt, L. C. Draper, S. H. Carpenter, O. M. Conover, C. Lord.

Gen. W. R. Smith in the Chair.

Resolved, that L. C. Draper Corresponding Secy. is hereby authorized to forward a list in his hands of Books to C. B. Norton Esq., New York with a request that he endeavor to purchase all or any of them at the Book Sale to take place on the 27. Feby and following days in the City of New York

by Messrs. Bangs Bro. & Co. and in case of any of said books could not be so procured but shall be purchased by the said C. B. Norton for the State Historical Society of Wis. at prices in no case to exceed the usual trade prices as assessed to their value in the said bill, the State Historical Society of Wis. will pay for the same on demand.

Resolved, that the Treas. of the Society O. M. Conover is hereby authorized to take charge of the Five Hundred Dollars appropriated by the Legislature to the State Historical Society.

On Motion adjourned to the Second tuesday of March next

C. Lord, Rec. Secy.

March 14, 1854.

Executive Committee met pursuant to adjournment

Present—Gov. Wm. R. Smith, Lyman C. Draper, Charles Lord, O. M. Conover, John W. Hunt.

Rev. Charles Lord Recording Secretary tendered his resignation which was accepted and the following resolution was adopted unanimously

Resolved, that in accepting the resignation of Rev. Charles Lord as Recording Secretary the Society expresses its warm for the accuracy and neatness in books for the services in that position since its organization

Dr. John W. Hunt was appointed to fill the vacancy in the office of Recording Secretary, and resigned the office of Librarian, and Rev. Charles Lord was appointed Librarian to fill the vacancy.

The following accounts were allowed,

Charles B. Norton for books purchased at sale	$100 00
Justin Brown, printing	15 00
Wood and Eberhard, paper	10 50
L. C. Draper, postage	17 52
	$143 02

Orders for these amounts were drawn on the Treasurer of the Society.

On motion the list of honorary and corresponding members were elected.

Letters were received and read from Hon. Chas. E. Stuart,

Jas. H. Lane, I. P. Walker, B. C. Eastman, Jas. Shields, S. G. Drake, & J. Munsel accepting membership.

The following letter from Genl. Lewis Cass was read

WASHINGTON Feb. 13, 1854.

DEAR SIR, I have received your letter but am sorry to say that it will be out of my power to accept your invitation to deliver an address before your historical society. I have so many engagements pressing upon me, that I feel an insuperable objection to add to their number. I do not suppose that it would be possible to procure as you wish a set of the Michigan Territorial Laws nor a complete copy of any paper published during the territorial government.

I would be glad to revisit your state and to witness its wonderful advance in all elements of power and prosperity, after having visited it many times indeed when in a state of nature, and when no man could have conjectured that its advance would be so rapid and wonderful.

I am, dear Sir Respectfully Yours,

LEWIS CASS.

L. C. Draper Esq, Cor. Sec. &c,

The following payments were made through the R. Secretary to the Treasurer

Charles Lord	$1 00
L. C. Draper	1 00
O. M. Conover	1 00
	$3 00

JOHN W. HUNT, Recording Secretary.

Special Meeting of Society

March 18, 1854.

A special meeting of the Society met pursuant to a call for that purpose

Present—Genl. Wm. R. Smith, President; Lyman C. Draper, C. S.; John W. Hunt, R. S.; O. M. Conover, Tr.; Charles Lord, Librarian; H. A. Wright, B. Brown, S. H. Carpenter, Curators.

Numerous letters were read from corresponding and honorary members.

The following resolution was adopted

Resolved, by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin that the thanks of the Executive Committee be transmitted to Thomas Sully Esq of Philadelphia for his generous offer to paint a portrait for the society, and that a copy of the portrait of Washington by Stuart, would be a most acceptable present, which we should greatly appreciate as a memorial of the Father of our country and as a generous offering so handsomely tendered by the distinguished artist.

The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian were appointed a committee to exchange duplicate books.

On motion Hon. James Duane Doty was chosen to deliver the address before the Society at the annual meeting.

D. S. Durrie, C. C. Britt and Geo. B. Smith were elected active members.

On motion a copy of the Wisconsin Gazetter was purchased for the Library.

John W. Hunt, Recording Secretary.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF

WISCONSIN,

FOR THE YEAR 1854.

VOLUME II.

MADISON:
BERIAH BROWN, PRINTER.

1855.

OFFICERS FOR 1855.

PRESIDENT:

Gen. WM. R. SMITH, Mineral Point.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

INCREASE A. LAPHAM,	-	Milwaukee,
Hon. NELSON DEWEY,	-	Lancaster,
Gen. ALBERT G. ELLIS,	-	Stevens Point,
Hon. MORGAN L. MARTIN,	-	Green Bay,
CYRUS WOODMAN,	-	Mineral Point,
Hon. GEO. R. McLANE,	-	Pine Lake.

Corresponding Secretary—LYMAN C. DRAPER.
Recording Secretary—JOHN W. HUNT.
Librarian—S. H. CARPENTER.
Treasurer—Prof. O. M. CONOVER.

CURATORS:

Hon. L. J. FARWELL,	Hon. SIMEON MILLS,
" J. P. ATWOOD,	" JOHN Y. SMITH,
" D. J. POWERS,	" H. A. WRIGHT,
BERIAH BROWN,	Col. DAVID ATWOOD,
DANIEL S. DURRIE,	JULIUS T. CLARK.

Report

To His Excellency, William A. Barstow,

Governor of the State of Wisconsin:

Sir:—In accordance with the act granting to the State Historical Society five hundred dollars annually, we, the undersigned Executive Committee of the Society, herewith render the Treasurer's annual report of the manner of expenditure of the appropriation, with the vouchers therefor. The receipts of the year are there shown to have been $552.52, and the disbursements $497.10, leaving a balance in the treasury of $55.42.

The organization of such a society was first suggested and urged by Chauncy C. Britt, Esq., in the Mineral Point Democrat of Oct. 22, 1845, and though the newspaper press of the Territory approved the proposal, nothing was done till the 30th of January, 1849, when the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was fully organized at Madison. But in the infancy of the State, and the too common neglect to preserve, by means of associated effort, memorials of the history of the past and passing events, little was accomplished till the year just drawn to a close. An act of incorporation was obtained in March, 1853; and, in January, 1854, the Society was re-organized with a view to more efficiency, when the

chief labors and duties were assigned to an Executive Committee, who were to meet monthly, and oftener when necessary. The last Legislature was memorialized for the small annual appropriation of $500, to be expended in making collections illustrative of the history of Wisconsin, no part of which should ever go to pay for services rendered by the officers of the Society; and the amount asked for, was granted in February last. This, together with the few volumes of state publications placed at the disposal of the Society to aid in effecting literary exchanges, has placed the Society upon a firm basis, and enabled it to enter at once upon a prosperous and honored career of usefulness.

In January last, the number of volumes in the library was fifty. During the year past, the Society has purchased a complete set of *Niles' National Register,* containing a most valuable current history of the times from its commencement in 1811, to its termination in 1849, in seventy-six volumes; and also fifty-four volumes of rare historical works, relating mainly to the West and North West. Among them may be particularly mentioned a copy of Lescarbot's History of New France, published in 1609; two voluemes of the old *Jesuit Relations,* 1643–44; a full set of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses,* in twenty-six volumes, containing much rare historical matter recorded by the early Catholic missionaries in the North West, commencing in 1672; Evans' large and rare Map and Analysis of the Middle Colonies and the West in 1755; Carver's Travels in Wisconsin, with a portrait of that early western traveller; Mackenzie's Travels, and other early and valuable works. Besides these one hundred and thirty volumes purchased, eight hundred and seventy volumes have been received by the Society during the past year, either as donations or exchanges, from nearly two hundred different sources; making the present number in the library one thousand and fifty volumes.— Of these, seventy-five volumes are quartos, sixty-two volumes of newspapers, and the remainder chiefly of octavo size. They may be classified as follows:

Works on history, including newspaper files; and publications of Historical Societies . .	466	vol's.
Congressional publications . . .	132	"
Agricultural, mechanical and scientific .	124	"
Miscellaneous	197	"
State Laws and Journals . . .	65	"
Unbound Works . . .	66	"
Total	1050	"

There are sixty-two volumes of newspapers, besides Niles' Register, all either bound or in process of binding; and several of these volumes embrace a period of two or more years; so that the entire series, including Niles, make about one hundred and forty years of printed matter, or over one hundred years aside from Niles' Register; and the Wisconsin papers alone comprise one half of these yearly files, commencing with the pioneer publication of Wisconsin, the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, which first appeared Dec. 11th, 1833. This collection of papers, large for the brief period the Society has made it a special object to secure them, is a matter of much felicitation to the members of the Executive Committee, knowing their inestimable value to the present and future historians, legislators and jurists of our State. But the collection, large as it may appear, is by no means complete; there are many files of Wisconsin papers extant that should early find their way to our library. The names of the donors of these several newspaper files are, Darwin Clark, Wm. N. Seymour, W. W. Wyman, Beriah Brown, David Atwood, L. C. Draper, J. W. Hunt, C. C. Britt, and S. G. Benedict, of Madison; E. Beeson, and Royal Buck, of Fond du Lac; Gen. A. G. Ellis, of Stevens' Point; John Delaney, of Portage City; E. B. Quiner, of Watertown; W. E. Cramer, of Milwaukee, and Patrick Toland, of West Bend. From the latter, a venerable volume of the Pennsylvania Evening Post, from August 1776, to August 1777. Ex-Gov. Doty has most kindly and liberally tendered the Society several files of newspapers published while Wisconsin was part of Michigan

Territory, and which must prove a peculiarly valuable acquisition to our collection, and whose arrival may soon be expected.*

The Society has also been fortunate in securing, at a moderate cost, eighteen volumes of newspapers, published in the Atlantic States, in various years, from 1784 to 1832, containing much frontier historical matter, particularly relative to the war of 1812–15, and the Black Hawk war; and these may be expected to reach here early in the ensuing spring.

Since March last, the Society has been in the receipt of twenty-nine Wisconsin papers, five from other states, and four magazines; all most generously donated by their publishers or editors. There are also preserved for the Society, by members of the Committee, nine Wisconsin papers, and three from other states. These fifty publications are all carefully filed for binding as often as there shall be enough of each to form a suitable volume; and they are deemed, not only by the Committee, but by all enlightened men, to be among the most important labors engaging the attention of the Society. This department alone of the Society's collections must speedily become vast in extent, and valuable beyond all estimation for purposes of reference, and as treasuries of the history, growth and progress of Wisconsin.

The department embracing the published transactions of kindred Historical Societies, and other learned institutions of our country, has received the early and constant attention of the Committee, and very gratifying success has attended their efforts. Prior to the past year, the Smithsonian Institution and Rhode Island Historical Society had alone furnished their publications; and, during the year just closed, the Society has received the published Transactions and Collections of the Historical Societies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio, New England Genealogical Society, Essex Institute, American Ethnological So-

* They have since come to hand—a bound file of the *Detroit Gazette* from 1818 to 1822; the Galena *Miner's Journal*, 1829–30, and others. Gov. Doty has also forwarded a most interesting series of laws which governed this country under the British *regime*, the North West, Indiana, and Michigan Territories.

ciety, American Institute, and the publications of Harvard College. The American Philosophical Society has liberally voted ten quarto volumes of its Transactions to our association and placed our society upon its list of exchanges, and these valuable works may early be expected. Assurances have also been received from the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Georgia, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Geographical and Statistical Society, of their friendly co-operation, and of their readiness to enter upon a system of exchanges with us; so that but three efficient Historical Societies of our country, those of *New York, Maine* and *Virginia,* remain unrepresented in our library or list of exchanges. The large measure of success attending this department of our collections, is mainly attributable to the liberal policy of our State Legislature in placing at the disposal of the Society a few volumes annually of the State publications to use in effecting exchanges; together with the confidence of the kindred institutions of our country, that this Society will soon enter upon the regular publication and distribution of its manuscript collections. It is extremely desirable, that such publications be commenced without delay, as multiplying and diffusing copies of rare historic documents greatly increase the means of their usefulness, as well as tend to avert their irretrievable loss by accident. The dissemination of such publications would be well calculated to exert a most favorable influence abroad respecting the intelligence, foresight and public spirit of the people of Wisconsin.

Quite a respectable number of the volumes added to the library during the past year, relate to State, County and Town histories of various portions of the Union, family genealogies, historical addresses, eulogies, and funeral discourses; which, with the Transactions of the Historical and Genealogical Societies of the country, will prove invaluable in tracing the ancestry and antecedents of such of the present and future leading and influential men of our State as may deserve to be ranked among our public benefactors. The published collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society

alone extend to thirty-one volumes, covering a period of sixty-two years. Of a character somewhat similar to the publications of such societies, and also valuable for the same general purposes, are the twenty-four volumes of Records and Archives, published by the State of Pennsylvania, extending from its first settlement in 1682 to 1790—a gift from the authorities of that State.

Among the manuscript collections of the year, may be mentioned a copy of the unpublished *Journal of Lieut. James Gorrell,* while British commandant at Green Bay, from 1761 to 1763, from Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, the learned author of the History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac; *Reminiscences of Green Bay,* in 1816–17, by James W. Biddle, Esq., editor of the Pittsburg American; a paper on the *Indian Nomenclature of Northern Wisconsin,* with some account of the Chippewas, their manners and customs, by Hiram Calkins, Esq., of Wausau; and a paper on *Indian Poetry,* by Caleb Atwater, the well known venerable antiquarian of Ohio, and one of the commissioners at the Indian treaties at Prairie du Chien in 1829. These form but a part of the Society's manuscript collections.

A most valuable and interesting collection of autographs of distinguished personages has been commenced, and already includes among the number those of Patrick Henry, John Adams, Jefferson, Jay, Morris, Madison, Sherman, McKean, Rodney and Trumbull; Generals Wooster, Knox, Wayne, Potter, Wilkinson, Dearborn, and Col. Allen McLane, of the Revolution; Gov. Thomas Penn, son of William Penn, Anthony Benezet the philanthropist, Conrad Wieser, who for forty years, in Colonial times, served in the capacity of Indian agent, messenger, and interpreter among the Indian tribes of New York and Pennsylvania; and of our recent or present statesmen, John Quincy Adams, Woodbury, Forsyth, Poinsett, King, Mahlon Dickerson, Pierce, Buchanan, Louis McLane, John Branch, and others. Autograph letters of most of the distinguished living literary men of our country have been received, including Irving, Prescott, Sparks, Bryant, Everett, School-

craft, Hildreth, Charles Francis Adams, Squier, Parkman, Quincy, Kennedy, Longfellow, Brodhead, Halleck, and others.

A fine miniature likeness of Winnesheek, taken in 1829, when he was principal chief of the Winnebago village of La Crosse, and now head chief of the Winnebagoes in Iowa, has been presented to the Society by Caleb Atwater, with three drawings of Wisconsin natural history, made at the same period; also drawings of ancient pottery found in La Crosse county, from J. Quintus, Esq., of Sheboygan; and from Stephen Taylor, Esq., of Philadelphia, his original drawings of a number of the ancient animal mounds so peculiar to Wisconsin, made in 1842. We have also secured several rare early maps of the West.

From Thomas H. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, have been received four silver medals, struck by order of the first Napoleon, and obtained in Paris and brought to this country by Hon. Henry Clay, and generously presented by his son as personal memorials of his venerable father. They were severally designed to commemorate the following events: i. *The Confederation of the Rhine,* 1806. ii. *Battle of Jena,* 1806. iii. *Battle of Wagram,* 1809. iv. *Marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louisa,* 1810.

Personal memorials of the Father of our Country, from his venerable step-son, George W. P. Custis, of Arlington, and of Daniel Webster, DeWitt Clinton, and President Harrison, are also kindly promised for the cabinet of the Society. Some specimens of Continental paper money have been presented by Wm. A. White, Esq.; an autograph letter of Washington may soon be expected to be added to our collections; and a miniature statuette of Gen. Jackson has been promised by Clark Mills, the distinguished artist. Among the more important works generously tendered the Society by their authors, and which may be expected during the year upon which we are now entering, are those of Wm. H. Prescott, Charles Francis Adams, Wm. C. Bryant, Benson J. Lossing, Wm. W. Campbell, John R. Bartlett, Rev. Dr. Davidson, Alfred B. Street, Edmund Flagg, and S. Augustus Mitchell. Mons.

A. Vattemare, of Paris, has also most kindly promised to include our Society in his noble system of International Literary Exchanges.

A Picture Gallery has been commenced under the most flattering auspices. The veteran artist, Thomas Sully, of Philadelphia, has painted and presented to the Society a copy of Stuart's Washington, pronounced to be a faithful and valuable copy by the venerable President of our Society, who was personally acquainted with Gilbert Stuart, and has often seen the original painting as well as the venerated Washington himself. From Clement R. Edwards, a celebrated artist of Cincinnati, has been received a fine copy of Jarvis' portrait of Gen. George Rogers Clark, the Washington of the West, and a portrait of Dr. Wm. Byrd Powell, of Kentucky. It was by the genius and conquest of General Clark during the Revolutionary War, that the country north-west of the Ohio, including our own Wisconsin, became American territory, and the Legislature of our State has worthily commemorated his worth and services by naming a county after him.

Robert M. Sully, of Richmond, Virginia, who in 1833, painted from life, spirited and truthful portraits of Black Hawk, his son, and The Prophet, is making copies of them for our Society; and from his skilful pencil our collection is furthermore to be enriched by a beautiful portrait of the renowned Indian Princess, Pocahontas, and a painting of the Ruins of Jamestown, from drawings made by the artist upon that classic ground. Mr. Sully also hopes to be able to make for the Society a copy from his original portrait of Chief Justice Marshall. As Mr. Sully has intentions of soon making our favored State his home, how appropriate that the delineator upon canvass of Black Hawk and two of his noted followers upon the war-paths of our soil, should visit in our midst and paint the battle-fields of the old chieftan, to be sacredly preserved in the Hall of our Society!

John R. Johnston, of Cincinnati, has made for the Society a

copy from his original portrait of Gen. Jackson, but recently both were unfortunately consumed by the burning of the building in which they were; but the persevering and skilful artist writes, that he yet hopes to be able to fulfil his original intention. Those talented brothers, G. N. and John Frankenstein, one of New York and the other of Ohio, have each generously tendered the Society a portrait or historical piece from his pencil. An anxious desire to secure the portraits of those who have presided as governors over Wisconsin, is likely to meet with the most gratifying success. Gen. Cass, who was so long Governor of Michigan Territory when Wisconsin formed a part, Governors Dodge, Tallmadge, Dewey, Farwell and Barstow, have severally signified their intention to comply with the wishes of the Society. When all these promised paintings are received, our Gallery will number eighteen, and will prove not only an interesting collection of works of art, but many of them will serve to illustrate the history and historic men of our State.

During the past year, thirteen hundred circulars, published by the Society, fully setting forth its aims and wants, have been sent to men of learning and genius in our own and other countries, and more especially to those known as lovers and promoters of history, and many of them have kindly responded to the appeal of the Society, contributing rare and noble works to our library and collections, and warmly commending the wisdom and forethought of the Legislature of our State, in having been the first in the Union to lend its aid in founding such an institution as ours, which must soon exert a marked influence in the historical literature of not only our own State, but the whole North West. Beside these circulars, over three hundred official letters have, at the same time, been sent forth in the name of the Society in furtherance of the objects of its formation.

A singular instance of the appreciation of such societies may be found in the fact that Mr. Moses Sheppard, of Baltimore, a venerable member of the Society of Friends, and an active member of the Maryland Historical Society, sent to our Society a donation

of twenty-five dollars. Such an example should serve to quicken the state pride of our own citizens, who may have it in their power to contribute in building up a society in our midst, which, in almost a single year, since its efficient re-organization, has outstripped the most flourishing kindred institution in the West, one which has been nearly a quarter of a century in existence. The most able and enlightened men of our age and country, have warmly commended the labors and objects of Historical Societies. "The transactions of public bodies," says Webster, "local histories, memoirs of all kinds, statistics, laws, ordinances, public debates and discussions, works of periodical literature and the public journals, whether of political events, of commerce, literature, or the arts, all find their places in the collections of Historical Societies. But these collections are not history; they are only elements of history."

At the recent semi-centennial anniversary of the New York Historical Society, the Hon. R. C. Winthrop very justly remarked, that "the Historical Societies of the different States of the Union—and I am glad to remember that there are now so few States without one—are engaged in a common labor of love and loyalty in gathering up materials for the history of our beloved country. But each one of them has a peculiar province of interest and of effort in illustrating the history of its own State. * * *

"None of us," continues Mr. Winthrop, "should be unmindful, that there is another work going on, in this our day and generation, beside that of writing the history of our fathers, and that is, *the acting of our own history.* We cannot live, sir, upon the glories of the past. Historic memories, however precious or however inspiring, will not sustain our institutions or preserve our liberties.

"There is a future history to be composed, to which every State, and every citizen of every State, at this hour, and every hour is contributing materials. And the generous rivalry of our societies, and of their respective States, as to which shall furnish the most brilliant record of the past, must not be permitted to render us

regardless of a yet nobler rivalry, in which it becomes us all even more ardently and more ambitiously to engage. I know not of a grander spectacle which the world could furnish, than that of the multiplied States of this mighty Union contending with each other, in a friendly and fraternal competition, which should add the brightest page to the future history of our common country, which should perform the most signal acts of philanthropy or patriotism, which should exhibit the best examples of free institutions well and wisely administered, which should present to the imitation of mankind the purest and most perfect picture of well-regulated liberty, which should furnish the most complete illustration of the success of that great Republican Experiment, of which our land has been Providentially selected as the stage."

This *"acting our own history,"* conveys to us an impressive and suggestive admonition. As we are now gathering up and preserving the acts of those who have gone before us, and aided in laying the primitive foundations of our State, so very soon will others, after us, be similarly engaged with reference to those now prominent on the stage of action. History is a stern, impartial judge, deducing truth, justice and right from the acts of the conspicuous men of the age; and by these, rather than subserviency to party behests, or playing the part of mere time-serving demogogues, must the character and worth of our public men be ultimately judged and determined.

May our State Historical Society, faithful to the purposes of its formation, never falter in its noble mission of gathering from the mouldering records of the past, the scattered fragments that yet remain, and securing complete memorials of the present, to render ample justice to all the worthy sons of Wisconsin, who may be earnestly laboring in any department of science, legislation, literature, mechanism, philanthropic or industrial effort, to advance the honor and prosperity of our State, or to enlighten, improve, or ameliorate the condition of man!

As an evidence of the worth and interest of the manuscript pa-

pers we have already collected on Wisconsin history, as well as an earnest of what may be more fully expected hereafter, we append a few that are deemed particularly worthy of notice and publicity.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

Wm. R. Smith,
John W. Hunt,
J. P. Atwood,
L. J. Farwell,
Simeon Mills,
Beriah Brown,
David Atwood,
O. M. Conover,
S. H. Carpenter,
H. A. Wright,
Lyman C. Draper,
Executive Committee.

Madison, January 2, 1855.

Appendix

Treasurer's Report

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Madison, January 2, 1855.

To the Society:

The Treasurer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, respectfully presents the following statement of the receipts into the Treasury, and disbursements therefrom, during the year ending this day:

Receipts.

Feb. 23, 1854.	From former Treasurer,	$9 52
Feb. 23, 1854.	From Recording Secretary,	2 00
Feb. 24, 1854.	From Recording Secretary,	2 00
Feb. 28, 1854.	From State Treasurer,	500 00
Mch. 15,1854.	From Recording Secretary,	3 00
Apr. 18, 1854.	From Moses Sheppard, Balt., Md.,	25 00
June 6, 1854.	From Recording Secretary,	1 00
July 10, 1854.	From Recording Secretary,	2 00
Sept. 12, 1854.	From Recording Secretary,	1 00
Jan'y 2, 1855.	From Recording Secretary,	7 00
	Total,	$552 52

Disbursements.

Mch. 15, 1854.	Beriah Brown for printing circulars,	$15 00
Mch. 15, 1854.	Weed & Eberhard, paper for circulars,	10 50
Mch. 15, 1854.	John N. Jones for postage,	17 58
Mch. 15, 1854.	Chas. B. Norton, for books,	100 00
Apr. 1, 1854.	J. Holton, express charges,	3 00
Apr. 8, 1854.	J. N. Jones, postage,	16 16

May	4, 1854.	Express charges,	18 82
June	8, 1854.	Express charges,	3 00
Aug.	1, 1854.	Sundry bills for books, freight, &c.,	28 10
July	11, 1854.	Sundry bills for books, freight, &c.,	253 11
Sept.	12, 1854.	C. R. Edwards, boxing pictures,	1 00
Oct.	3, 1854.	Postage and freight,	6 53
Dec.	5, 1854.	Express charges,	19 30
Jan.	2, 1855.	Postage, &c.,	4 00
Jan.	2, 1855.	Book,	1 00
		Total disbursements,	$497 10
		Balance on hand,	55 42
			$552 52 $552 52

Vouchers for each of the foregoing disbursements are herewith presented.

Respectfully submitted,
O. M. Conover, Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
Lyman C. Draper,
John W. Hunt.

Green Bay in 1726

Charles Whittlesey, Esq., of Eagle River, Lake Superior, an intelligent and accomplished scholar, sent the following translation of a French manuscript, relating to the early history of Green Bay, to Hon. C. R. Robinson, by whom it was kindly communicated to the Society. It was, with many others of a similar nature, brought from France by Gen. Cass, when he returned from his mission, who loaned them to Mr. Whittlesey for perusal and translation. He promises copies of others, which will no doubt prove interesting and valuable.

Mr. Whittlesey thinks it is not easy to determine by whom this memoir was penned, or to whom it was directed. He suggests that a part of it has the air of a circular addressed to the Commandants on Lake Michigan and the Illinois by the head of Indian Affairs; but most of its sentiments and many of the phrases agree with a letter of June 19, 1726, by M. DeLigney, from Green Bay, to M. De Siette, among the Illinois.

Memoir concerning the peace made by Monsieur De Ligney (or Signey) with the Chiefs of the Foxes (Renards), Sauks (Sakis), and Winnebagos (Puans a la Baie), June 7, 1726.

To make the peace which has been effected by M. De Ligney with the Foxes of the Bay, and the Puants (Winnebagoes), of the 7th of June last, certain and stable, it is thought proper to grant to *Ouchata*, the principal chief of the Foxes, his particular request to have a French officer in the country, which will, he says, aid him in restraining his young men from bad thoughts and actions.

We think, moreover, that it will be necessary that the commandant at La Pointe, *Chegoiwegon* (Lake Superior), should for his part labor to withdraw the Sioux from an alliance with the Foxes, to detach them by presents, and allow them to hope for a missionary and other Frenchmen as they have desired.

The same thing should be written to the officer commanding at the post of Detroit, and at the river St. Josephs, in order that the nations adjacent to those parts, may be detached from the Foxes, and that those officers, in case of war, have a care that the way shall be stopped, and the Foxes prevented from seeking an asylum with the Iroquois, or in any other nations, where they may secrete themselves.

Monsieur De Siette, who now commands in the Illinois country in place of M. De Boisbriante, has written to M. De Ligney, that the Foxes are afraid of treachery, and that the surest mode of securing our object, is to destroy and exterminate them. That he has made the same proposition to the Council General of New Orleans, and has given to the gentlemen, who are Directors of the company of the Indies, the same opinion.

We agree that this would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous or more prejudicial to both colonies than such an enterprise, in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprise, and to keep them shut up in a fort, as in the last war; for if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or to the Agouais (Iroquois?), they would return to destroy us in all the Upper Country, and the French of both colonies would be unable to pass from post to post, except at the risk of robbery and murder. If, however, after our efforts to cause the peace to be durable and real, the Foxes fail again in their promises, and take up the hatchet anew, it will be necessary to reduce them by armed forces of both colonies acting in concert.

In the meantime, it is proper that M. De Siette should cause to be restored to the Foxes by the Illinois, the prisoners that they may have with them, as M. De Ligney has made the Foxes promise to send to the Illinois their prisoners; and that you do not follow

the example of other commandants before you, who have thought to intimidate the Foxes, and cause them to lay down their arms by burning Fox prisoners that fell into their hands, which has only served to irritate that people, and aroused the strongest hatred against us.

If, with these arrangements on the part of the Illinois, the Foxes can be persuaded to remain in peace from this time a year, we shall be able to have an interview with M. De Siette, at "Chicagoux," or at the Rock (on the Illinois), from whence to make an appointment for the Chiefs of the Illinois nation and of the Bay (Green Bay), where they can agree upon the numbers of French and of Indians, on the part of the Illinois and on the part of Canada, who shall meet at a fort to be built at an agreed place designed for the meeting.

After this, the treaty of peace with the Foxes and their allies, can be renewed, and the following summer we can cause "Ouchata," and the war-chiefs of the Foxes, with a train of their allies, the Puants, Sauks, Kickapoos, Maskoutens and Sioux, to descend the Lake to Montreal, where we can enquire of them their disposition and intentions, and also learn the desires of the King from France.

It would be apropos that Ouchata should publicly demand a chief from the French in presence of his chiefs, and of those of the Sauterns (Chippeways), Potowatamies, Outawas (Ottaways), and other nations, whom it may also be proper to bring down, and a chief or two on the part of the Illinois, to be witnesses of the matters concluded with the Foxes. There will be no difficulty in granting them a French officer, although it may not coincide with the wishes of the Commandant at the Bay, who will doubtless be opposed to this establishment, only on account of private interests, which ought always to yield to the good of the service of the King and the Colonies.

Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal

[Introductory note by the Corresponding Sec'y of the State Historical Society of Wis.]

The late venerable Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, obtained from Horatio Ridout, Esq., of Whitehall, near Annapolis, Maryland, quite a collection of rare and curious manuscripts relative to the old French and Indian war, and among them this journal of Lieut. Gorrell. Mr. Ridout's father was John Ridout, who was Secretary to Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland during the French and Indian war, and thus became possessed of these valuable papers. Mr. Gilmor presented them to the Maryland Historical Society.

Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, when collecting materials for his able work on border history, the Conspiracy of Pontiac, procured a copy of Gorrell's journal, and has kindly communicated a transcript of it for the use of our Society. So interesting a memorial of the early history of Wisconsin, never before published, cannot but be received with favor.

Of Gorrell himself, it is to be regretted that we know so little. In addition to this journal, he left another of Maj. Wilkins' expedition from Niagara to Detroit, in the fall of 1763. This is the last trace we get of him. As his name does not appear in the British Army Register for 1780, of which we have a copy, it would seem that he had died prior to that date.

A few explanatory notes are added by the editor to the journal.

L. C. D.

Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal

Commencing at Detroit, September 8th, 1761, and ending at Montreal, August 13th, 1763, containing an account of several councils held with the Indians;—also, showing the villainy used by the Canadians to corrupt the Indians, and excite them against the English, with a brief account of the number and strength of the Indians, and their commerce in that quarter.

Detroit, Sept. 8, 1761.—Captain Belfour of the 80th Regt., was ordered to march with a detachment of the 60th and 80th Regts., to take possession of, and leave garrisons at the posts on Lakes Huron and Mitchicon, viz., at Mishamakinak, La Bay,* afterwards called Fort Edward Augustus, and St. Josephs.

Sept. 28th.—We arrived at Mishamakinak, when Capt. Belfour called a council of what chiefs of the Indians were then there, and gave them a belt and some strings of wampum. Here we left Lieut. Leslie, of the Royal American or 60th Regt., with one sergt., one corporal, one drummer, and twenty-five privates of the same regiment.

Oct. 1.—The rest of the detachment sailed with a fair wind for La Bay; went that evening sixteen computed leagues, and notwithstanding we were detained by contrary winds, &c., four days at the Grand River, we arrived at La Bay on the 12th, which is computed eighty leagues from Mishamakinak, at a time when there was but one family of Indians in the village—they being gone a hunting, according to their custom, at this time of the year, and return commonly in the months of April, May, and June, according to the distance they go, and the openness of the season. There were several Frenchmen who had gone up the river that forms the

*This taking possession of these western posts previously occupied by the French, was in consequence of the conquest of Canada the previous year by the English and Colonial forces, and the surrender of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada; and *La Bay* was our own Green Bay of Wisconsin, or, as the early French writers termed it, *la Baye des Puants.*

Bay which comes from Lake Puan,* about fourteen leagues up. These traders have since gone up as far as the Sous† country, near two hundred leagues from La Bay, and as they went past this post, notwithstanding those very Frenchmen were employed by the English traders from Montreal that came to Mishamakinak by virtue of Gen. Gage's license, did all that laid in their power to persuade the Bay Indians to fall upon the English on their way, as they heard of our coming, and telling the Indians that the English were very weak, and that it could be done very readily. Some of the young warriors were willing, but an old and great man of the Sack Nation whom they call Aking (and whom the French call Dirdo), told them they were the English dogs or slaves now that they were conquered by the English; that they only wanted his men to fight the English for them, but he said they should not, and called the French old squaws, and obliged the warriors to desist, which they did, and went to their hunting. I was informed by an English lad, and a New England Indian that was with them, of this in the spring following, but when I got an English interpreter, the Indian told me of it, as will appear hereafter.

We arrived at, and took post at La Bay, the 12th October; found the fort quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover, our fire wood far off, and none to be got when the river closed. The 14th, Capt. Belfour departed, leaving me with one Serg't., and corporal, and fifteen privates at La Bay, a French interpreter, and two English traders—viz: Messrs. McKay from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

When I left Detroit for St. Josephs, and had received my orders from Capt. Donald Campbell, of ye 60th or Royal American Regt., I found in his orders very little respecting Indians, for which reason I applied to him to know if he had any other instructions, upon which he referred me to Sir Wm. Johnson‡, who was then there, to whom I applied. He told me verbally that unless I did my best to please the Indians I had better not go there;

*Winnebago Lake. †Sioux. ‡Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department.

he told me he would leave belts of wampum with Capt. Campbell as soon as the council was over, to be sent to the different posts, though I never received any, as I imagine the captain never had it in his power to send them. Understanding shortly after my taking command of the post, that there was a vast number of Indians dependent on it, more than was ever thought of, I found that I should have to send to Detroit for belts to give them on their arrival in the spring. For this purpose, I at three different times attempted sending expresses, both by way of St. Josephs and Mishamakinak, but I could never do it.

Therefore, as I could not get any from Detroit, and could not do without it, I was obliged after getting what Mr. Goddard had, to borrow of the Indian squaws, and pay them some twelve hundred for a thousand. I also made use of some I had from Lieut. Brehm, which was for his own use. That borrowed from the Indians, I was obliged to repay on the arrival of the first trader that brought wampum. So that I had six belts made, one for each nation that visited that place, but I found that some nations required two, some three, and some four, as they had towns. The French, in their time, always gave them belts, rum, and money, presents by which they renewed their peace annually.

Nothing material happened from this till the May ensuing.—We mostly busied ourselves during the winter in repairing the fort, houses, etc., as we had by the Canadians many various accounts, differing from one another, of the Indians intending to attack us, which accounts we had all the reason afterwards to believe were propagated to hinder the trader from coming up to that post.

Some few young men of the different tribes or nations of Indians came at different times to know how they would be treated, and were agreeably surprised to find that we were fond of seeing them, and received them civilly, contrary to the account given them by the French. They asked for amunition, which I gave them at different times, as also sent flour to some of their old men, who, they said, were sick in the woods. There being no

chiefs here at our arrival, we had no council with them until the 23d of May, 1762, on which I delivered the following speech, the chiefs of the Folles Avoines,* and of the three Puan chiefs, being present; and agreeably to my orders from Capt. Campbell, I gave them belts of wampum, and strings of the same, for the return of prisoners:

Brothers!—As you may have lost some of y'r brothers in the war in which you imprudently engaged with the French against your brothers, the English, and tho' by it you ought to have brought a just indignation upon you, yet we will condescend so far to forget whatever hath happened, that I am glad to take this opportunity to condole with you on the loss you have met with. At the same time, by these belts, I wipe away all the blood that was spilt, and bury all your brothers' bones that remain unburied on the face of the earth, that they may grieve you no more, as my intention is henceforward, not to grieve but to rejoice among you.

Brothers!—I hope also by these belts to open a passage to your hearts, so that you may always speak honestly and truly, and drive away from your heart all that may be bad, that you may, like your brothers the English, think of good things only. I light also a fire of pure friendship and concord, which affords a heat sweet and agreeable to those who draw nigh unto it; and I light it for all Indian nations that are willing to draw nigh unto it. I also clear a great road from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, and clear it from all obstructions, that all nations may travel in it freely and safely.

Brothers!—As you must know the arms of the great King George have entirely subdued all the French dominion in Canada, as you must also know the just causes that obliged him to make those conquests, in consequence of which, and agreeably to terms of capitulation made last year, by which, as before mentioned,

*The French name given to the Menomonees, meaning Wild Oats, alluding to the wild rice, which grew abundantly in the country, and from which they derived their name.

Canada, with all its dependencies, was ceded to the English king, my master and your father, I am sent here to keep the best order and administer the strictest justice amongst you, as also to protect all the Indians that will by their good behavior deserve his royal bounty. He hath also recommended it to all his subjects who are come amongst you to trade, to bring whatever necessaries you may want, and save you the trouble of going so far yourselves; in consequence of which, I have brought one along with me, who, you'll find, will use your people well and sell everything as cheap as possible to them, which some of them have already experienced. Therefore, I hope you will, on your part, behave well, and give convincing proofs of your good intentions to keep a good understanding with him by paying him always whatever he may credit you, as your brothers the English do. If you have any just complaints against him, or any others of the English or French traders, or people otherwise employed amongst you, let me know, and you may depend upon having justice done you. It is for these purposes that I am sent here, which you may plainly see by my bringing few men with me; and always depend that I shall be glad to serve you in doing justice. In one word, by these belts, I renew and confirm all the treaties and covenants of peace which formerly subsisted between your ancestors and ours, which was lately renewed by your neighboring chiefs at Niagara and Detroit. I expect you'll hold fast and often record it in your minds, as by that means you'll study your interest, and ever give us good proofs of your friendship and good meaning towards us. I also recommend it to you to take care and use well all who have or may come, and look upon them as your friends and brothers, as they are subjects of His Majesty, and we form one body and blood, and since we are joined by friendship, henceforth we shall be one people.

Brothers:—In consequence of this and the several treaties held with you and your neighboring chiefs at Niagara, Detroit and Mishamakinak, these string are to open your eyes and hearts, to follow their example to bring in all the English prisoners who yet remain with you or your people, that they may be returned to us. You

know they are our own blood, and you are sensible that it would vex you to have your blood with any nation. Your great father, the King, will be very angry if you don't comply, and send as many men as there are trees in the forest to compel you to a compliance.

To this the Folles Avoines, on whose land the fort stands, answered:

That they were thankful for the good speech I had made them, as also for the presents; and said they were very poor, having lost three hundred warriors lately with the small pox, and most of their chiefs by the late war in which they had been engaged by the then French commander here against the English.

That they were very glad to find the English were pleased to pardon them, as they did not expect it, and were conscious that they did not merit it; but that I might depend they would adhere to whatever instructions the commanding English officers might give them, for the future, as they had always done with regard to the French.

They begged I would send for a gun-smith to mend their guns, as they were poor and out of order; the French, they said, had always done this for them, and their neighbors at Mishamakinak had had this favor granted them. They said the French commandant always gave them rum as a true token of friendship. In regard to prisoners, they said they had none amongst them, nor ever had; for what English prisoners they had taken during the war, they had always left at Montreal. They expressed great satisfaction that the English traders were coming among them, and seemed desirous that they should continue to come, as they found by experience that the goods were half cheaper than when the French were amongst them, and said they would use the traders well, oblige their young men to pay their credits, and assured me they would willingly partake the influence of the pure fire of friendship I had lighted for them. They thanked me for my advice in desiring them honestly and sincerely to speak their sentiments, which they always would do, and acquaint me with any

bad talk that might be amongst them, or the neighboring Indian Nations, as there were five more that depended on that post. They returned thanks to the great God for sending them such a day for their council, which they looked upon as an omen of lasting peace with them.

To which I gave the following answer:

That I would write to Capt. Campbell, commanding at the Detroit, for a gun-smith as soon as possible, and made no doubt he would send one. To their request for rum, I told them that their great father, King George, knowing that they were poor, by being so long at war, had ordered no rum to be brought amongst them to sell, lest they should neglect their clothing, their wives and children, until such time as they might be clothed, which I hoped would be in a few years.

The Puan Chief returned the same answer with the rest, with a demand for a gun-smith; and added, that he would send the good road I had given him, meaning the belt, to the two other chiefs of his nation, and he did not doubt they would come down very soon.

No Indians came here till the 29th, when a party of Toways,* who lived at Little Detroit, arrived. I spoke to them as I had done to the rest, and gave them strings of wampum for the return of prisoners, and made them some small presents. As they lay between this and Mishamakinak, they promised they would use the English and French well who would be coming thither. They went away well pleased.

June 5th, 1762.—Ambassadors from the Sacks and Reynards, with a chief belonging to the second Puan town, arrived here, to whom I made a speech to the same purpose, and also gave them each a belt and strings of wampum. Their answer was nigh to the same purpose as the former, with a demand for the English traders to go to their towns. I told them I would write to my commander at Detroit, and await his answer.

* Ottawas.

I received a letter from Capt. Campbell, dated at Detroit in September [1761], which never had an opportunity of coming before from Mishamakinak, wherein he said that it was against the General's instructions to give the Indians more presents than were absolutely necessary to keep them in temper. These orders made me uneasy, as I was assured I could not keep so large a body of Indians in temper without giving them something, as they had always been used to large presents from the French; and at the same time, if I did not give each nation the same I had given those that had been to see me, all would be lost to me and the service. I, therefore, sent my interpreter, who could acquaint Capt. Campbell best about it, with letters to him, and engaged his cousin at his recommendation, who had just come from the Sous country, as interpreter. He behaved very well for a Canadian for sometime, but I was convinced soon to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel.

There are by both French and Indian accounts, 39,100 Indian warriors, besides women and children, depending on this post for supplies, and they are as follows:

Taways, etc.,	100	Little Detroit and Milwacky.
Folles Avoines,	150 warriors.	They live at La Bay, in two towns.
Puans,	150	At the end of Puans Lake, and over against Louistonstant.
Sacks,	350	Above Louistonstant, in ye. government of Louisiana.
Reynards,	350	On the River Reynard.
Avoys (Ioways?),	8,000	On each side Mississippi.
Sous,	30,000	On west side Mississippi, near 300 leagues off.
Total,	39,100	

I had an answer from Capt. Campbell as soon as could be expected, in which he was pleased to signify his being satisfied that I had done all in my power for the benefit of his Majesty's service. He said he had written to the General, and had let him know that the number of Indians at my post was great, and hoped to know his Excellency's orders to enable him to supply them with what

would make them easy; at the same time desiring I would continue to keep them in as good humor as possible, consistently with frugality. He also sent 200 lbs. of tobacco for them. Lieut. Leslie sent me 100 lbs., which I made the most of by giving it very sparingly, as the traders who come to this place bring very little of that article.

June 24th.—Ambassadors from the Chippewas, a nation dependent on Mishamakinak, came to negotiate the adjustment of a quarrel with the Folles Avoines respecting a man killed at Mishamakinak, belonging to the latter tribe. They brought a letter from Lieut. Leslie, commanding at Mishamakinak, in which he warmly recommended it to me to assist the Chippewas in that negotiation, as it would be very prejudicial to the trade and communication between the posts if any such quarrels should take place; for which purpose, I called the chiefs belonging to the post together, and was under the necessity of giving them a few small presents.

June 25th.—Mr. Thomas Hutchins,* now Ensign, came, with Mr. George Croghan's instructions to enquire after Indian affairs. It being Captain Campbell's orders to me to assist him, I called what Indian chiefs were then there, consisting of the Folles Avoines, Sacks and Reynards. When he had let them know his business, they immediately demanded of him colors and commissions, such as the French superintendents used to give them; to which he replied, that he would report of it to the superintendents who sent him.

*This early Anglo-American visitor to Wisconsin was a native of New Jersey. In 1763–64, he served under Col. Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and subsequently in West Florida. He was in England at the commencement of the Revolution, where his zeal for his native land caused him to refuse tempting offers, and finally led to his imprisonment, and the loss of twelve thousand pounds in a single day. When liberated, he went to France, and thence to Charleston, where he joined the army under Gen. Greene. He was soon appointed Geographer General of the United States, and died in that service at Pittsburgh, in April, 1789. He was remarkable for his piety, charity and benevolence; and was the author of two descriptive works, one on Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and the other on Louisiana and West Florida.

July 12th.—A Reynard came who said he was a chief, and demanded leave to buy seven barrels of powder, presenting me with a large belt of wampum. Having reasons to suspect his intentions, I refused to allow him to buy any more than would serve him to hunt, until I should have a council with his chiefs, and I gave him a belt, desiring his king might come to me very soon.

Aug. 6th.—Three Puan chiefs, with four ambassadors from the Avoy nation, came. I made the same speech to them as to the rest. The chief of the third town of the Puans brought me a large belt, confirming what both the others had said before, telling me that he had seen the belts I had sent, and that he had never been at war with the English, nor could the French commander persuade him to it. He brought the other chiefs to confirm what he said, as he never knew any harm the English had done him. He made the same demand for traders, with the same promises of protection for them, and also asked for a gun-smith, and rum. The Avoys then spoke, and said they had come very far, and brought no belts, as they had come to see if I would shake hands and forgive them, as I had done the rest. I gave them belts and strings of wampum for the return of prisoners. They said their king would come in the spring and see me.

Aug. 13th.—The King of the Sack Nation came, to whom I made a speech of the same purport as to the rest, and his answer was nigh the same; that he had seen the good road I had given his brothers, but as he understood I would not let any English come amongst them till he came to see me, he had left home in company with 250 of his warriors to wait on me and know my commands, and also to get English traders; but as the news came after him that the town was threatened with an invasion by the Isle Anoix* Indians, he had to send his warriors back to guard the

*Probably the *Illinois* Indians. Illinois, according to Father Marquette, meant "the *men*," as if other Indians compared with them were mere beasts. It is possible, that the Indians alluded to by Lieut. Gorrell, belonged on some *Isle aux Noix* or Walnut Island.

women and children. As I had now given a good road, he would take care to keep it open and clear, and if any trees should spring up to obstruct the way, he would not only beat them down, but tear them up by the roots. He brought with him a pair of French colors, flying on board his canoe, and excused himself by saying he knew no difference, and hoped I would give him English colors, which I did, and he burnt the French ones. I also gave him a belt of wampum and other presents. He was the only Indian that disapproved of rum being given to the Indians. He had never seen an English officer before. He showed me a commission signed by the French superintendent, giving him command of the whole nation. I sent a copy of it to Capt. Campbell, and promised the Indian, at the same time, that he should have one from the English.

Aug. 21st.—A party of Indians came from Milwacky,* and demanded credit, which was refused, as they properly belonged to Mishamakinak. They also made great complaint of the trader amongst them, but as he came from Mishamakinak, and did not touch at this place, I desired them to go there and make their complaint, and they would be redressed. They promised to come to this place to trade in the spring; I made them a small

*This is the earliest notice, it is believed, of *Milwaukee*, and indicates that it was then, 1762, quite an Indian town, with an English trader residing there. Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, who commanded the British post of Michillimackinac from 1774 till the autumn of 1779, has left a volume of Miscellanies, in which he has recorded the substance of a speech he delivered to the Indians at the Ottawa town of L'Arbre Croche, on the shores of Lake Michigan, some distance west of the fort at Michillimackinac, on the 4th of July, 1779; in which he speaks of "those runegates of Milwakie—a horrid set of refractory Indians." In the same speech, in another connection, he alludes to *"Wee-nip-pe-goes*, a sensible old chief at the head of a refractory tribe"—probably the Milwaukee band, who seem not to have been subservient to British rule during the American Revolution. According to a statement dictated by several Sac and Fox chiefs, appended to Dr. Morse's Report of his Indian Tour in 1820, *Mil-wah-kie* was settled by the Sacs and Foxes, and the name is derived from *Man-na-wah-kie good land.* The table already given by Gorrell of the Indian nations dependent on La Bay, mentions Milwacky as being then inhabited by "Ottawas, etc."

present, and told them if they did, they should be well treated and not imposed on.

Aug. 25th.—The king of the Reynards came, to whom I made the same speech as to the rest. He answered to the same purpose with the king of the Sacks, but he let me know that he had routed those bad men who demanded the seven barrels of powder; and promised protection to all traders that came amongst his people. I made him a present of a stand of colors and other things.

Sept. 1st.—The chiefs of the Folles Avoines came and demanded credit for their young men, which the traders here granted, on the chiefs giving their word for payment in the spring.

From this to March 1st, 1763, nothing remarkable happened, except the arrival of several English and French traders, some of whom went up the country, and most sent up the largest part of their goods. Several Indians of the nation belonging to this place, came in at different times during the winter for necessaries. This day twelve warriors of the Sous came here; this nation's number I have before given. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows and darts, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in North America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods, at seventy or one hundred yards distance. They are remarkable for their dancing; the other nations take the fashion from them. It is said they keep regular guards in their chief town or metropolis, relieving once in twenty-four hours, and are always alert. They proffered me the command of their warriors, being 30,000 in number, to keep clear the road I had opened for them.

This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth, that if ever the Chippewas, or any other Indians, wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them a belt, and they

would come and cut them off from the face of the earth, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them, etc., rehearsing the same speech I had made to the other Indians. They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum, from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of there being English at this post, and great desire of making peace with them, and having English traders. The letter was written by a French trader whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well, which he did better than any Canadian I ever knew. They said they found the road very bad, and would have turned back but for meeting a chief of the Folles Avoines who prevailed on them to come; but as they had now got a good road, they could travel on it without fear, and hoped to come again in the spring with their king.

With regard to traders, I told them I could not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from Mississippi in the Spring. They went away on the 3d, extremely well pleased. What was remarkable, when they went to give dances to the people, agreeably to the Indian custom, they began with the soldiers saying, they were the people who should have the most honor paid them, as they fought for it; but being told I was a soldier as well as commander, the chief said he regarded me doubly.

March 25th.—Read letters from Mr. Lottridge, who lived all this winter, in the trading way, up the river with the Indians; that he understood one Goddard, a trader from Montreal, sent orders to his clerk, a Canadian, who lay at the same place with Mr. Lottridge, to send word to the Milwacky Indians, and desire them not to come here, but stay at home, and he would send goods to them in the spring, the contrary to what he told them last fall.

* * * * * * *

Several Indians came from this to the 15th May, when almost the whole nation came together from their hunting. On the 18th,

I was informed that some young men had threatened to attack the fort, and as there were some Taways here, I did not doubt but they would help them, upon which I called together the chiefs of both parties, and told them what I had heard of their design. The Taways declared they knew nothing of it, which I believe was true. The Folles Avoines' chiefs said, if anything made their young men uneasy, it was on account of the colors and medals Mr. Hutchins had promised. There were none of the old chiefs here at the time, but a few days later they came in. I held council with them, and in it, by a belt and some strings of wampum, I renewed all former treaties. They all seemed well pleased, only they wanted the promised colors and medals. The chiefs were much displeased at the Carroy's getting a present from Mr. Goddard of a fine suit of embroidered clothes. This Carroy was much thought of by the French. I changed my interpreter the 20th inst., and employed the English lad of Mr. Moran's above mentioned, at which the Indians were generally pleased.

June 14th, 1763.—The traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans, and four young men with one chief of the Avoy nation, to demand traders to go amongst them. They promised that four hundred and fifty other men would be down in August to trade. I gave them presents.

Agreeably to Capt. Campbell's letter last fall, wherein he told me that he had either lost or mislaid my last year's account, and also from Maj. Gladwin at the same time, I had made up my account both for last year and this separately; one for Capt. C. during his command, the other for the Major's time; and had given them to Mr. Moran, a trader going to Detroit, who was this morning, June 15th, to set out, when about nine o'clock came ten Taways and Frenchmen, and brought the following instructions from Capt. Etherington:

"Mishamakinak, June 11th, 1763.

"Dear Sir:

"This place was taken by surprise on the fourth instant, by the Chippewas, at which time Lieut. Jamet and twenty more were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieut. Lesley, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You'll therefore, on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawas, set out with all your garrison and what English traders you have with you, and come with the Indian who gives you this, who will conduct you safe to me. You must be sure to follow the instructions you receive from the bearer of this, as you are by no means to come to this post before you see me at the village twenty miles from this. Leave the French clerks with their masters' goods, as the Chippewas have offered no violence to any Frenchman.

"Bring with you what provisions you can. Your batteau will bring you and your garrison, and the merchants can come in a canoe. Tell the savages that you are obliged to come here to open the road which the Chippewas have shut up, that the merchants may have leave to come to them, and the bearer of this will make the same speech to the Indians. If there are any English traders that are not at your post, you must not wait for them, but recommend them to the care of the Indians till you come back, which will be very soon; and if you find it absolutely necessary, you may make them some presents. I must once more beg you'll lose no time in coming to join me; at the same time, be very careful, and always be on your guard. I long much to see you, and am, dear sir,

"Your most humble serv't.,

Geo. Etherington.

"J. Gorrell,

"Royal Americans."

"Tell the traders to bring what provisions they can with them, and be sure to bring all your amunition; and recommend the care

of the fort to the Indian chief, that it may not be burnt before your return. Let no person know but that you are to come straight to the fort, as the knowledge of our design might be attended with bad consequences.

(Signed,) "G. E."

The same day and date, received the following from the same, by same bearer:

"Michillimackinac, June 11th, 1763.

"Dear Sir:—I forget to tell you before I sealed the letter I just now wrote you, that if the Indians I send you should want any belts to speak upon, you will give them what they want, and likewise give each of them a shirt to encouarge them. In the other letter I wrote you, I said my letter would be given you by an Indian, but as the Frenchman that I sent with him has a little box, I gave the letter to him. Please lose no time in coming to me, and believe me,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Geo. Etherington."

Agreeably to these orders, I gave the ten young Ottawas clothes, and also five belts of wampum to speak for the English, or rather for themselves.

I called the Folles Avoines chiefs together, and all their young men, and informed them, with a belt, of their brother Capt. Etherington's distress, (giving them large presents,) and asked their counsel and assistance; whereupon they called their whole town together, and all unanimously agreed to come along with me, and sent several of their young men to the lower town to dis[patch] them on their march. The seven young men I also clothed.

June 17th.—I made every thing ready to set off with the garrison and all the English traders, but contrary winds prevailed.

June 18th.—About 1 o'clock in the afternoon arrived ———— chiefs of the Sacks, Reynards, and Puans, who said their young men were coming, and desired me not to trust myself and garrison with the Taways, as they had seen the belts, and they were not

sincere; they desired me to stay for them, which I did till the 19th, when they arrived, and with them came one Pennensha.—This Pennensha is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them in March, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favor of the English, by which he much promoted the interest of the latter, as appeared by the behavior of the Sous thereafter. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, importing that after their ambassadors or chiefs returned, they had called a council of most of the warriors, in which it was agreed to send the following speech to the Indians depending on the Baye,—that I had received a belt from them, with a road plain and easy to be found; they therefore desired, that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or to give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so, they would send all their warriors and cut them off.

This speech had its desired effect, as it changed the minds of the Ottawas very much, and settled those of the rest in favor of the English interest, who came with Pennensha, very happily for us. When all the young men of those nations had arrived, they told me all their nation was in tears for the loss of two English traders who were killed by the French in their lands, and begged leave of me to cut them all in pieces. They seemed well pleased that I had got an English interpreter, as they could tell me their mind more plainly than by a Frenchman. I called a council of the Four Nations, to whom I gave large presents; and to the three last nations, each a belt. I also made a speech to them in the best manner I could, informing them of Capt. Etherington's distress, and that I was going to relieve him if possible, and return to them again after we had cleared the road; and that I hoped, as they had always shown themselves brothers, they would go along with me, and assist in that good work. I was going to try to reinstate their brothers and mine, so that they might be supplied with goods for their wives and children. Upon this, the old Sack chief, who was with me last summer, and brought the French

colors as before mentioned, addressed the rest of the chiefs as follows:

That he was very sorry for the distress of his brother, the English chief at Mishamakinak, and hoped they'd open their eyes and be strong and of good courage to let their new [British] Father know how they had his interest at heart, and not to believe all the bad things the French had told them last winter. He then advised the other Indians to follow his example and show the English how much they had their interest at heart. He could, he said, give no greater proof of this, than by giving himself and taking his young men with him, and he hoped they would do the same. He said he knew that their new Father would have pity on them, and send up traders.

They all agreed with this, and said they were glad they could now show the English how much they loved them, and that I should find they would keep their promise of the year before.

By request of the Four Nations, I sent off the ten Ottawas, to inform Capt. Etherington I was coming. They promised to meet me at the Fishing Place at the Pilot-Traverse.

June 20th.—The Indians busied in gumming their canoes, and getting ready.

June 21st.—I set out, [accompanied by] part of the Four Nations, viz: the Folles Avoines, Sacks, Puans, and Reynards, sailed about fifteen leagues to the Lower Folles Avoines' town—encamped.

June 22d.—Set out, and arrived about ten o'clock at the mouth of the river, on which the village stands. Went on shore; walked up to the town, and was saluted by the firing of guns by about fifty warriors of that town, who discharged their guns three times. Called a council and spoke to them in the same manner as I did to the others, and gave them large presents. They sent two chiefs with twenty warriors with me. Contrary winds obliged us to stay all next day, being the 24th.

June 25th.—Set out escorted by ninety warriors exclusive of

my garrison and the English traders, and crossed the Bay. Came to Little Detroit, where a party of the Ottawas lived, to whom I gave presents, and some strings of wampum, which pleased them. They sent six young men more with me.

June 26th.—Crossed the Bay again, and encamped on a little island.

June 27th.—Went about ten leagues; encamped at the mouth of the river, called the Fishing Place.

June 28th.—Went to the Chippewas' fishing place. Here the Indians who were with us apprehending they might meet with the Chippewas, who might be there to waylay us, sent a shore forty warriors to reconnoitre the woods before we landed, which they mostly did during our journey, and always made us encamp in the center. The King of the Sacks always went in the batteau with me, and would always lay in the tent—so great was their care.—We waited for the return of the Ottawas' canoes, as they had promised to meet us here as was before mentioned, but they did not come.

June 29th.—Set out and came to Isle Castor. Here we were alarmed with great smoke rising in the Isle, in different places, and at different times, while we were crossing the Traverse; and as the Ottawas had not met us according to promise, our Indians mistrusted their sincerity. When we came near to the Island, our Indians halted, and made all preparation imaginable for an action. They obliged the English canoe to go in the center; the Folles Avoines went foremost, stripped ready for action. We went about half a league, when turning a point, we saw three or four Indians on the shore, naked, with lighted pipes, who called in the Ottawa tongue for us to come ashore; which our Indians did, perceiving them to be the Ottawas who were to have met us yesterday. They brought me a letter from Capt. Etherington, which, after passing the pipe, they delivered. It was as follows:

"Ottawa Village, June 28th, 1763.

"Dear Sir:—Your's I received this morning, and am glad to

hear you're coming. Agreeably to your desire, I have sent the canoe of Ottawas to conduct you to this place, and keep all the English you have together. I hope to see you soon, and am, dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"Geo. Etherington."

N. B.—On the other side was wrote, viz: "The Soutons* or Chippewas continue their mischief. They have plundered all the canoes they have met with since I wrote you last, and are now encamped on the great island near the fort, to which place they all repaired on the appearance of a canoe.

"Lt. J. Gorrell, Roy. Americans." G. E."

We lodged on this island this evening; during which canoes came from Mishamakinak with Indians. They had been plundering there as our Indians apprehended. Upon their arrival, one of our Indian chiefs, who had a relation killed last summer by the Chippewas, and thinking those Indians or some of them were Chippewas, went with tomahawk and knife to their canoe to kill them; but found no Chippewas nor plunder, as they had hid the latter on an island not far off.

June 30th.—I set out and arrived at the Indian village where Capt. Etherington was, about thirty miles above Mishamakinak. The Ottawas received me with great joy, by the firing of several guns, three times each. They also presented us with nine pipes of peace. It was on our arrival here, that we expected to have our allies' sincerity tried, as we heard it reported last night that, on our arrival, our arms would be taken from us, and we would become prisoners, like Capt. Etherington and his party. I told my Indians of it, at the same time letting them know that none of my party should give up their arms, as this was their fixed resolution. The Indians all said they would stand by us. However, on our arrival, no attempt of the kind was made, nor did they ever look on me or my party as prisoners—but to the contrary.

* Sauteurs, probably.

July 1st.—Nothing of consequence, but feasting, dancing, and smoking.

July 3d.—I gave the Indians that came with me a belt of wampum, and they called a council of the Ottawas, and gave them a large belt of wampum, and returned them thanks for taking care of Capt. Etherington and the rest of the prisoners. The Ottawas gave the Indians that came with me several barrels of powder and many other presents, and returned them thanks for bringing me and the garrison down safe. They sent to the Fort for some Chippewa Chiefs to come to them. The same [day], the Indians that came with me and the Ottawas renewed their old alliance.

July 4th.—The Chippewas arrived and held a council. The La Bay Indians took great pains to get the Ottawas to join them, to get Capt. Etherington re-instated, which they refused, but said they would do all in their power to take us to Montreal. The La Bay Indians said that if they did not, they would have no more to do with them, but would break off former friendship. They also spoke to the Chippewas, but could not bring them to consent to their proposals. Nothing but councils till the 7th.

July 7th.—The La Bay Indians came and told me that they were going to the Fort to speak for the last time, and make the Chippewas lay down their arms to let us pass for Montreal. I gave them two large belts. They likewise said, that if the Chippewas would [not?] consent to their proposal, they would take me and my garrison back with them, and take care of us till such time as they would [go with] their warriors and open a road themselves. This day they went to the Fort, and took with them most of the traders that came with them. On their arrival, the Indians belonging to the Isle Castor took one Mr. Lottridge and Mr. Croghan; the former was taken from them by a chief of the Sacs, to whom he gave considerable presents; but the latter was obliged to buy himself clear.

July 8th.—They continued in council till the 11th, in which

time they got all the prisoners clear, except myself, Mr. Henry,* a trader, and two soldiers; and the same day, being the 11th, we all arrived, the men, the traders, and most of the Indian women, from the Ottawa village.

July 12th.—The La Bay Indians and the friendly Ottawas informed us that the road was clear to Montreal, and that they had appointed several Ottawa chiefs and warriors to convey us there; upon which we and the traders promised they should be well rewarded.

July 13th.—About eight or ten of the principal Indians that did the mischief, came to Capt. Etherington, and made the following speech, viz: That they would know if he would shake hands with them. Upon being refused, they said it was not on account of the Tawas that they saved Capt. Etherington and the rest of his garrison, but on account of the Indians from La Bay with me, who came with their pipes full of tobacco for them to smoke; and if they were all under arms and ready to fire upon us, they would be obliged to lay down their arms on account of an old alliance between them. They said that though it was the Chippewas that struck, it was the Ottawas that began the war at Detroit, and instigated them to do the same. They said at the same time, that if the General† would forgive and shake hands with them, they would never do the same again. Upon this, Capt. Etherington said, that if they expected any mercy, or that he should speak in their fa-

*This was Alexander Henry, who was born in New Jersey, in August, 1739. He accompanied Amherst's Expedition in 1760, and was present at the reduction of Fort de Levi, and surrender of Montreal. In descending the river, he lost three boats of merchandize, and only saved his life by clinging to the bottom of one of them. Possessing an enterprising spirit, he soon after visited the Upper Lakes, and engaged in the fur trade. He was captured with Capt. Etherington's party at Mackinaw, and subsequently resumed the occupation of a fur trader. He was the author of an interesting work of Travels in Canada and the Indian country, between the years 1760 and 1776. He died at Montreal, April 4, 1824, aged eighty-four years. He was a man of warm affections, domestic habits, and a generous mind.

†Sir Jeffrey Amherst was then British Commander-in-chief in North America.

vor, they must give up all the prisoners, which was their only method of getting forgiveness.

July 14th.—The La Bay Indians came to me and demanded commissions. I gave them eight certificates, which answer the same end as commissions. The Chippewas then said, that if they had some rum they would go and consult of it. Having no rum to give them, they went away and said no more to us. Afterwards they went to the La Bay Indians, who desired them to deliver up all the prisoners, as the only method to get forgiveness.

July 18th.—Capt. Etherington made them some small presents, and thanked them for their good behavior; and at the request of the chiefs, Messrs. Bruce, Fisher, and Roseboom, a trader from Albany, returned with them to La Bay. The same day, the wind being fair, we embarked for Montreal, consisting of forty canoes of soldiers, traders and Indians. Nothing of consequence occurred till we came near the French river, where we met a party of Missasaga Indians. The next day, we entered the French river, when the chiefs called a council, in which it was ordered that Capt. Etherington, Lieut. Leslie, and all the master traders, should go in the Indian canoes, and make what haste they could to Montreal. I was left with all the soldiers and traders' hands to guard the peltry. Lieut. Leslie being an elder officer, insisted on staying on that command, but an Ottawa chief who had taken him from the Chippewas, and adopted him as his son, would not let him, as he said he would take him to the General and give him up. And they proceeded. After a tedious passage of thirty-two days, I reached Montreal the 13th Aug. 1763, with all my garrison.

I was so much hurried after receiving Capt. Etherington's*

*Capt. Etherington, it would appear from Graydon's Memoirs, was probably a native of Delaware, early entered the army, and served as drummer and sergeant. A wealthy widow of Newcastle county becoming enamored of him, purchased him a commission. After the loss of his post at Michillimackinac, we find him stationed at Philadelphia; and in September, 1775, he was promoted from a Major to a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, which rank he held in 1780—between which later date and 1792, he must have died, as his name does not appear in the British army register in the latter year. He was a man of superior height and large frame, which gave him a commanding air. Though extremely deficient in education, he possessed a strong, acute intellect, and had a happy talent at repartee.

letter the 16th June, 1763, that I could not put the particulars in the margin, as in the former, but was obliged to refer the amount of the sundry presents given to the Indians since the above date, to the traders' accounts below mentioned, viz:

Messrs. Moran and Company's accounts,	£935	12	2
" Goddard & Co.,	191	2	6
John Abeall & Co.,	23	8	3
Messrs. Lery & Ezekiel Solomon, 4 bags corn,	10	0	0
Henry Bostwick, for corn,	5	0	0
Total,	£1165	2	11

This exclusive of 21,800 wampum, not charged in trader's accounts, being belts received from different nations, as pledges of their fidelity; the most of which necessity obliged me to have made over again, lest they should be known.

Montreal, Aug. 16, 1763.

Recollections of Green Bay in 1816-17

By James W. Biddle, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

My first visit to Green Bay was in the fall of 1816. I was concerned with Col. James Thomas in the supply of the troops at Detroit, Mackinaw, Chicago, Green Bay—provided, said the contract, that a military post should be established at the latter place within the year. The post at Mackinaw was then under command of Brevet Col. Talbot Chambers; but in August, or thereabouts, Col. John Miller, afterwards Governor of Missouri, arrived, and taking command, determined on establishing a post at Green Bay.

Vessels were accordingly chartered, and, I think, three companies of riflemen and infantry were put on board. I furnished the required amount of provisions and they all arrived safe, though this was the first instance of merchant vessels navigating the Bay. The leading or most reliable commodore of the fleet was Capt. Dobbins of the "Washington," belonging to Erie, Pa., of hundred tons, the largest vessel at that time on the Lakes, though they spoke of the "Wellington," of one hundred and thirty tons, belonging somewhere in Canada, which *had been* on the Lakes, but found too large or drawing too much water for lake navigation, and had then disappeared. Dobbins sounded the whole way up the Bay, and on his return gave the worst account of the navigation—all shoals, said he, and rocks, with no harbor, river, or creek

to put into, or island to take shelter under, excepting two at its mouth.

This account was all gammon, as I conjectured at the time, as, though not contradicted by the other masters of vessels, it was not confirmed by them. They were, however, under some kind of *cow* to Dobbin, who besides being in some capacity in the U. S. service, was of a lordly, imperious disposition, and commanded the finest vessel on the Lakes, and was, moreover, acquainted with the fact, that I had further and large supplies to forward. He first asked $10 per barrel freight, then $7—$5—$3.50, and finally closed with my offer of $1.50 per barrel, at which I loaded his own and four other vessels of forty and fifty tons each—schooners and sloops. This gives you an idea of the price of freights at that time, the general rule being $2 per lake for a barrel bulk—that is, from Buffalo or Erie (Cleveland not being much known then) to Detroit or Malden, $2; to Mackinaw $5, St. Clair Lake being called half one. Chicago then had no trading reputation, vessels only visiting it to carry troops or provisions to supply them; and these provisions and supplies up to that time, were principally brought from Pittsburgh, including pork, flour, whiskey, soap, candles, vinegar, conveyed by keel-boats up the Alleghany, and French Creek, to Le Bœuf, or Waterford, and thence wagoned over to Erie.

At this date, Ohio first began to furnish pork and flour for these posts; both, however, were held as inferior, the hogs being light, and the flour dark or yellowish. Michigan farmers then raised little or nothing to sell. They were French, settled on so many arpents* of land, fronting on Detroit river, and limited back, I think, by no defined line; it never entering their grave heads that any man would locate himself without a river front. Here they raised a few vegetables which they preserved through the winter, and some wheat and corn, which they ground by wind mills, still to be seen on the points of land along the Detroit. The town of

*An arpent is about one-seventh less than an English acre.

Detroit was of some business importance, but Mackinaw was the great emporium of trade of the North American Fur Company, at this time embodied in John Jacob Astor. Here his agents resided, and from hence were fitting out his trading boats for the various Indian regions, north, east and west. I think in 1816, he fitted out two hundred and forty boats, each one containing two traders and from four to six hands. The *two* traders were only for this year, Congress having by law forbidden *foreigners* being licensed to trade with Indians—all his traders had hitherto been Canadians. Astor was compelled that year to send United States' citizens, and sent out two hundred young clerks from city counting-houses of whom to make Indian traders. As they knew nothing of the *traps* connected with the business, Astor had to send his old traders with them as *hands*. But a single year sufficed to make them all first-rate men—the Yankees being always at home at a trade, and they easily took up with the traps, leaving the Frenchmen to seek other pursuits.

I did not visit Green Bay until October or November, 1816. I found the troops in quarters prepared for them by Col. Gratiot, the engineer, who accompanied Col. Miller* to the post, which the latter left in command of Col. Chambers, and returned to Mackinaw, and afterwards to Detroit, that year, leaving the post at Mackinaw in command of Brevet Col. John McNeil, brother-in-law of the present President Pierce; at which post were also stationed at the same time, Capt. Benj'n. K. Pierce, and Lieut. John Pierce, of the Artillery, both brothers of President Pierce. The former, now Gen. B. K. Pierce, I believe is still living, and still in service—at least he was in 1848, when I had the pleasure to see him in this place by receiving a call from him when passing through.

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*Col. John Miller, the first American officer in command at Green Bay, was a native of Virginia. He had served with great reputation during the war of 1812-15. After his command at Green Bay, he was appointed register of the public lands in the Howard district, Missouri, and was subsequently elected governor of that State, and for several years a member of congress. He died near Florisant, Mo., March 18th, 1846. L. C. D.

The fort at Green Bay, I think called Fort Howard, was built lower down Fox river, and nearer the lake than any of the settlements, and on the right as you ascended the river. The settlement was a promising and a pleasant one, having comfortable houses, framed buildings of two stories, with numerous small farms under good cultivation, and the land very productive in corn, wheat, grass, &c. So rapid was the vegetation, that it was gravely asserted that they could hear and see the corn growing.

Col. Miller experienced no difficulty from the Indians in establishing his post, though something of this had been anticipated from the Winnebagoes, a bold and warlike tribe who lived at Lake au Puant, or Stinking Lake—now Lake Winnebago—some sixty miles up Fox river. None was apprehended from the Menomonees or Wild Rice Indians, who resided at the mouth of the river. A deputation of the Winnebagoes came down and remonstrated with Col. Miller against what they termed an intrusion; and inquired why, and for what purpose, he was about to establish a fort there? Miller gave them what he had in explanation, and that his purpose, though armed for war, was peace. The Winnebago Chief then made to him the celebrated remark of the Armenian Prince, I think it was, to Lucullus, "that if his object was peace, he had brought more with him than was necessary to treat; but if his object was war, he had brought too few to fight." Miller told him that he had not seen all the force he had with him, and invited him down to the river bank, among the grass of which he showed him some ten or twelve large cannon lying, which the Indian had not before seen; but upon viewing them, he said that Col. Miller probably had enough to make good his right—broke up the conference, and gave no farther trouble. The Winnebagoes seemed to be a different race of people, and were so regarded, from the Chippeway, or rather Ojibway, of which great family, nearly, if not all, the other tribes in that region were branches—their language being totally different, having a guttural sound like the German.

The Menomonees at Green Bay were a small and generally

peaceable tribe, but had, at this time, a very remarkable man as their chief—one held in much awe by the surrounding Indian nations, and in high respect by the whites. His name was Tomah, whom I personally knew, and I may say, venerated. I learned from those who were acquainted with his history, many marked occurrences of his previous life. He had no hereditary claim to the chieftainship. This was held, at the time, by a man nearly as old as himself, who was an idiot, but who they always took with them in their excursions. Tomah merely ruled as the acknowledged strongest man of the nation, and this he had continued to do for a great many years. The Indian tribes around were represented to me as all afraid of him, though they mentioned it as a singular fact, that he had never engaged in war with any of them while in control of the nation.

An interesting illustration of this I received from several persons, as occurring upon an interview he had with Tecumseh in 1810 or 1811, when that remarkable man was forming his great combination for driving the Americans back, who like the waves of the sea, were encroaching upon their hunting grounds. With this view he visited Green Bay, obtained a council and hearing from Tomah and his people, whom he addressed in a manner he best knew how to do; and in the course of which, in true Indian spirit, he pictured the glory, as well as certainty of success, and as omens of this, recapitulated to them his own hitherto prosperous career—the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of warrior-foes. Tomah appeared sensible of the influence of such an address upon his people, and feared its consequence, for he was opposed to leading them into war. His reply was in a tone to allay this feeling, and he closed with the remark to them, that they had heard the words of Tecumseh—heard of the battles he had fought, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken. He then paused; and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly raised his hands, with his eyes fixed on them, and in a lower, but not less prouder tone, continued

"but it is my boast that these hands are unstained with human blood!" The effect is described as tremendous—nature obeyed her own impulse, and admiration was forced even from those who could not, or did not, approve of the moral to be implied, and the gravity of the council was disturbed, for an instant, by a murmur of approbation—a tribute to genius, overpowering, at the moment, the force of education and of habit. He concluded with remarking, that he had ever supported the policy of peace, as his nation was small and consequently weak; that he was fully aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians, and for them feared its consequences, but that he saw no relief for it in going to war, and therefore, as a national thing, he would not do so, but that if any of his young men were desirous of leaving their hunting grounds, and following Tecumseh, they had his permission to do so. His prudent counsels prevailed.

I always thought this an odd speech—a very remarkable one to come from a savage, for such Tomah was by birth and education, but by nature I always thought him one of the grandest specimens of humanity I had ever seen. I had not met with him at Green Bay; I was only a few days there in 1816, and hurried with business, nor did I hear much, if anything, of him, until after meeting with him the next year at Mackinaw. The first I heard of him, was a prescription of his to Col. John Bowyer, the Indian agent at Green Bay, for the gout, of which my brother, Edward Biddle, told me, and a very rational one I thought it—"to drink no whiskey, live on lean meat and wild rice, and *scarify his feet.*" This led me to make inquiries about him, when I found, that my brother had become a warm friend of his—an admirer of him.

When at Mackinaw, early one morning in the latter part of May or early in June, 1817, I had come out of my lodgings and observed approaching me, one of the many Indians then on the island, and taking a look at him as he emerged from the fog, then very heavy, I was struck, as he passed, in a most unusual manner by his singularly imposing presence. I had never seen, I thought, so magnificent a man. He was of

the larger size, perhaps full six feet, with fine proportion, a little stoop-shouldered, and dressed in a somewhat dirty Indian blanket, and had scarcely noticed me as he passed. I remember it as distinctly as if it was yesterday. I watched him until he disappeared again in the fog, and remember almost giving expression to a feeling which seemed irresistably to creep over me, *that the earth was too mean for such a man to walk on!* The idea, to be sure, was discarded the moment it came up, but existence it had at this my first view of Tomah. I had no knowledge at the time who he was, or that Tomah was on the Island, but while standing there before my door, and under the influence of the feeling I have described, Henry Graverat, the Indian interpreter, came up, and I enquired of him whether he knew of an Indian who had just passed up? He replied yes, that it was Tomah, chief of the Menomonee Indians, who with his people had arrived late the evening before, and were encamped at the "Point;" that Tomah had just been with him to ask a council with the Indian agent, Maj. Wm. H. Puthuff. The council was held at 10 o'clock, and I made it my business to attend.

To understand what follows, I must make a short digression.—The British for many years had paid annual contributions, termed by them Indian annuities, giving each member of the tribe a suit of clothes, consisting of a shirt, leggins, breech-clout, and blanket—and each family, a copper kettle, knives, axes, guns, amunition, &c. For these, each tribe came regularly in the spring or fall, either to Mackinaw or Drummond's Island, or the Sault Ste. Marie. Tomah was a British Indian. He had not himself engaged in the war, but his feelings were with the British, as were personally some of his young men. He had arrived on Mackinaw Island with his whole people on their way to Drummond's Island to receive their usual annuity, and had stopped at Mackinaw to rest over night. There was nothing novel to us in this, as a number of tribes had previously arrived, stopped and had a council, at which they told their story, always winding up with professions of love for their *"Chemuckiman Nosah,"* or *American Father,* who, they hoped,

would open his heart, and give their people some meat to stay them on their journey, and his breasts to give them some milk—i. e., whiskey—to make them joyful. This was the usual winding up of all such councils. When the council in this instance had met, and the proper time offered, Tomah arose and stated to Maj. Puthuff, that he had arrived with the Menomonee Nation, the night before, on their way to visit their British father, and that having stopped on the Island to rest over the night, he had thought it his duty to report the fact to his American father. With this simple announcement, he sat down. Puthuff, a little nettled, made a short reply, and the council broke up.

Coming out of the council house, I waited for Maj. Puthuff, and remarked to him that Tomah would want some provisions for his people, and that I wished he would give me an order for that purpose. "D—n the rascal, why didn't he ask for it, then?" "I suppose," said I, "being a British Indian, he is too proud." "Well, let him starve, then." "If all are to starve who are proud, God help many that I know of, Major." I had no difficulty in prevailing in the matter, as government had made provision for such issues to Indians, and Graverat and I made out an estimate proper under the circumstances to give, and Tomah and his people continued their voyage.

In a few days he and they returned, dejected and disconsolate. A change had come over the spirit of British policy. They had just come out of a long and exhausting dance led them by Napoleon, and were counting the cost. They had been casting around to find where surest and readiest to cut off drains upon their treasury, and judging that they had no further need of Indian services, lopped off the whole list of Indian annuities. This was already known at Mackinaw, and had been told to Tomah upon his first arrival, but he would not, or did not, believe it. He found it, however, too true. There were no annuities there for him, or for any other tribes, many of whom were there; and it was anticipated at one time, that they would rise upon the British force there, and take what they could get. But this was not attempted.

My brother Edward, then and now at Mackinaw, had been well acquainted with Tomah at Green Bay, and immediately after his return to the Island, he came into the store, spoke a few words to my brother, and left. I had seen the interview, and watched the result, without making any enquiry, for I saw that my brother, who greatly loved Tomah, was imbued with all his melancholy. In a few moments a young Indian came in with a three gallon keg, which my brother bade the young man in the store to fill with whiskey, which was charged on the books to Tomah. I was looking over the books but a few years ago, and saw the entry on the ledger, which brought with it a train of wild and melancholy thoughts. This insult from the British authorities, as he took it, was more than his proud heart could bear. For himself he might have borne up against it, but for his people, and in the sight of those whose good offices he had refused to ask, he could or would not. The keg was brought to him in his tent, from which he drank alone, and to an excess, that relieved him the third day of pride, grief, joy and care. He was buried on the Island. I was present at his funeral, and witnessed his daughter, a young girl of nineteen or twenty, as she mournfully sang his death song at the head of the coffin, just before lowering into the grave all that was mortal of Tomah. I never saw so distressed and broken-hearted a people. They said they were no longer a nation—no longer anything. Tomah could alone command and keep them together, but now they would be scattered and lost. We made a collection, and bought them provisions which carried them home, where they organized under some other chief, until driven from their old hunting-grounds by you land-grasping Wisconsiners!*

*Of Tomah, or Thomaw, or Thomas Carron, we have found but little in print. He seems to have been the great Indian chieftain of the Wisconsin tribes; our Philip of Pokanoket—our Pontiac—our Tecumseh; not so well known, to be sure, and figuring on a smaller theatre, but exhibiting traits of character none the less noble—none the less extorting our admiration. Col. De Peyster, in his rare work previously alluded to, thus spoke of him in 1779:

"While none on earth live more at ease,
Than *Carong's* brave Menoninces;"

The settlement at Green Bay in 1816, as I have remarked, was a very clever one. They had comfortable houses and good farms. It was composed mainly of old *engagers*—Canadian boatmen, who had withdrawn from the employment of the fur companies, and fixed themselves down on a piece of land *fronting on the river,* and married to whole or half-breed Indian women. The custom I found prevailing here was somewhat unique of its kind, as a leading feature of the community, though something of the kind still exists at New Orleans among a distinct class. You Wisconsiners may smile, or grin, or scowl at it, but you cannot alter the facts as I found them at that time. The young people there were generally a cross between the French Canadian and Indian, and marriage between girls of this class and the white men arriving, was of a conventional or business kind, to suit the convenience of the case, the residence of the men not being permanent, or intending to be so. Marriage, therefore, was limited as to time, and was contracted either for life, or for six, or twelve months, as the case might be—with the white men arriving, it was generally of the latter kind. The lover having made choice of a girl, applied to her parents, with whom he entered into a limited marriage contract—specifying the amount to be paid them for deprivation of her services—the amount to be paid her in hand for her own benefit, and the amount per week for her boarding and rent

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and added, that he was "a very clever fellow, chief of the nation of Menominees—the handsomest man among the Indians."

Dr. Morse, in his Tour among the Indians, in 1820, speaks of him as "the celebrated Thomaw, who died, and was buried, at Mackinaw, and over his grave Mr. John Law of Green Bay, erected a monument with the following inscription:

"Here rests the body of Thomas Carron, Grand Chief of the Folle Avoine (Menominee) nation, who departed this life July 8th, 1818, aged 56 years, regretted by all who knew him." This date makes his death occur a year later than Mr. Biddle, who thinks he cannot be mistaken; and Tomah must have been fully ten years older than the age upon this monument represents, judging from the fact of his being a prominent chief as early as 1779. His son Mau-cau-tau-bee, or Carron, of whom Dr. Morse spoke as a modest, sensible man, is one of the present chiefs of the Menomonees, and has so been ever since his father's death, and has attained the age of fifty-five years. L. C. D.

of a room in the house, if to remain in the dwelling of her parents. These payments were generally made in provisions, clothing &c.

In case the lover or husband removed from the place before the expiration of the time agreed on, he had the right—as in the case of the *engager*—to transfer his marital claim thus acquired, to another; so that during the term of the stipulated coverture, the girl might find herself the wife of two or more husbands. I knew of several marriages of this kind during the few weeks I was at the Bay in 1816 and 1817. I could state that of Capt. ———, of the U. S. Army, but I decline any reminiscences of names. I was so far intelligent of this, as to be called upon by the Captain, an old acquaintance, to heal some breach between him and his thus acquired wife—for the reason that I could speak some French, which he could not. She was in high *tantrems,* he said, about something which he could not understand. He wanted that I should go with him to ascertain what *could* be the matter. Of course I went, and found the fair dame sulky and sullen, but with an eye flashing high anger. I easily got the truth from her. Her jealousy had been excited or roused by some tale-bearer. I gave her the explanations and details he tendered, with promises of caution and good conduct for the future; and having restored peace between man and wife, I went merrily home. The contracts entered into in this manner were regarded by them as sacred, and no evidences were adduced or known of infidelity on the part of the women, and were consequently highly resented if occurring on the part of the spouse.

The Bay was unblessed at this time with anything in the nature or calling of a priest, but it did rejoice in the possession of a magistrate, who had enjoyed the office of judge time without memory of when it began; and long had all the business of the colony been regulated and kept in order by the awe-inspiring authority and portly person of Judge Reaume. No person there could tell when his official duties first devolved upon him, nor from whence his authority was derived. It was sufficient to ob-

tain obedience, that it existed, and no one disputed his authority or appealed from his decision, for, in truth, there was no power above him. Before him all complaints were brought, and all wrongs redressed, and marriages celebrated—for doing which he had fixed fees. In the case of marriage, of which it was discovered he kept some kind of record, if you remained in cohabitation beyond the stipulated time, he would send for you; have you to renew the engagement, or punish you by fine for contumacy or neglect—thus securing a new fee for his own pocket, and enforcing a proper respect for the laws and customs of the country. While I was there, a vagabond French desperado was arrested for an act of violence to a half Indian girl. The case was rather broadly made out against him, which excited the ire of the good Judge to such a degree, that he sentenced the fellow to buy the girl a new frock—it having been proven that her own had been torn in the scuffle, and to work one week in his, the Judge's garden!

It was reported, but I know not with what truth, that his library was enriched with two odd volumes of Blackstone, but whether in French or English I did not learn. A gentleman, a friend of mine, had a dispute with a troublesome fellow about some trifle, and upon whose application, Reaume sent my friend a summons—instead of paper with name and seal, the constable exhibited the well-known large *jack-knife* of the Judge, which had long been made to serve that purpose. On the day of appearance, defendant broke ground for the Judge's, and stopping at a store on the way, bought some cheap article. On approaching the office, he found the Judge at the door, who exclaimed to him in broken English, "You may go away—go away; I has given judgment against ye." "Good morning, Judge." "Good morning; I has given judgment against ye." "Coming along by Burgan's store, I saw this small coffee-pot hanging out, and I bought it to present to you, Judge; will you do me the pleasure to accept it?" "O—yes, tank ye—tank ye kindly—very much 'bliged to ye." "Judge, I don't owe that fellow any thing." "You don't?" "No, I have really overpaid him." "The rascal; I reverses my judgment, and he shall pay de costs."

Now it must not be imagined from this, that Judge Reaume was a bad man. He was the reverse of this, but followed the temper of the times, and bowed to the current of the country's customs, rather than undertake the labor of changing or rising above them. The quiet acquiescence of the people to his authority for so long a time, and the sufferance of his rule and sway under British and American supremacy—and possibly under French, too—for he may not have surrendered until long after Montcalm and Cornwallis did, is an argument at least in favor of the mildness of his administration. Nor was he deficient in intelligence, and possessed much of the natural politeness of the better class of rural French.* The most considerable man however, in the settlement, the one of most intelligence and enterprise—the *substantial* one of the colony, was John Law, who occupied a fine farm on the left bank of Fox river as you ascend, which he afterwards sold to John Jacob Astor, and which now, I think, forms a part of the town of Green Bay.

There is, or was, a natural phenomenon at Green Bay, which I have before made public notice of, and repeat here; I mean a re-

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*Judge Charles Reaume was probably a native of Detroit—at least, in 1777, there was a prominent resident of Detroit, named Pierre Reaume; and in 1778, Charles Reaume, was a captain in the British Indian Department, at Detroit, and accompanied Gov. Hamilton in his expedition against Vincennes in December of that year, and when the American Col. George Rogers Clark recaptured that place in February, 1779, Capt. Reaume was among the prisoners, who taking the oath of neutrality, was permitted to return to Detroit. Gen. Clark's *MS. Papers*, in the writer's possession, prove this fact. From Morse's Indian Report, it appears that Capt. Reaume settled at Green Bay in 1790, and probably derived his early commission of Judge from the British authorities at Detroit; and anticipating perhaps, the early transfer of Detroit to the American government, may have had something to do in hastening his departure. When Brown county, in which the Green Bay settlement was and is still situated, was organized under the authority of Michigan Territory, in 1818, Judge Reaume was appointed by Gov. Cass an Associate Justice, and Justice of the Peace; in July, 1824, another filled his place on the bench—hence it would appear, that he died sometime between 1818 and 1824.

gular ebb and flow as of a tide in the waters of Fox river.* I noticed it every day for about ten days that I staid there in 1817. The rise and fall was, I think, twelve to eighteen inches, and occurred regularly at the same hours every day—being greater or less in its rise and fall as the wind was up or down the Bay. I published a notice of this in the Pittsburgh Gazette in 1818–19, which was copied into various papers, and came under the notice of Judge Woodward, of Detroit, a gentleman of much learning and science, who visited Green Bay and examined into it, and, in a published report, confirmed the existence of the ebb and flow as I had found and described it.

Now, don't set me down as delving behind Chateaubriand.—Poor Chateaubriand had been landed on the wild shore in Canada from a boat on Lake Ontario, and ran into the woods to enjoy the luxury of the wild, unstinted freedom of Nature in all her glory of forest and flowers; and in the ecstacy of excitement, he was hugging the trees, he tells us, when he heard a loud and rumbling roar, which alarmed and brought his mind back to earth from elysium, and caused him to run to his comrades in the boat to see what was the matter. The alarm, he said, had been causeless: *It was only the tide coming in!* This is not worse than Oliver Goldsmith, good honest fellow as he was, who, in an old and honored school book, gave a very fair, true and faithful description of Niagara Falls—the perpendicular height and vastness of the column precipitated; and then, after writing all this, and seeing what he had written, quietly and calmly remarked, that notwithstanding the height of the fall, and the power of the current, Indians had been known to pass down it in their canoes in safety! I well re-

*An able article upon the tides of the North American Lakes, written by the late Col. Henry Whiting, of the U. S. Army, may be found in *Silliman's Journal*, and also in *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan*. Col. Whiting argues that there is no sensible lunar tides on the Lakes, and is sustained in this opinion by Gen. Cass and Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq.; that there are probably planetary influences operating on the lake waters, but that the changes in the level of the waters are mainly produced by atmospheric phenomena. L. C. D.

member reading it in my own old school book, fifty years ago, and of being bothered about it; but that passage about the canoes has been dropped in all the later editions.

The fowl-game at Green Bay were the duck and prairie hen—both abundant. The ducks used to rise like large dark clouds, subsisting probably on the wild rice growing near the head of the Bay. I wonder, by-the-by, if it grows there still! The Indian women used to make a favorite dish of wild rice, corn and fish, boiled together, and called *Tassimanonny*. I remember it to this day as an object of early love.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan., 1854.

To Lyman C. Draper, Esq.

Recollections of a Tour Through Wisconsin in 1832

By Col. Charles Whittlesey, of Eagle Harbor, Lake Superior

In the Spring of 1832, vessels were unable to reach the Upper Lakes until the first week in May. We were detained at Mackinaw a few hours, and were landed at Green Bay about the 15th of that month. The weather was cold and boisterous, which rendered the delay at Mackinaw agreeable, enabling the captain to lay in a supply of trout, and those who by reason of sea-sickness had found the stomach a very uncomfortable place, to settle that organ, and treat it to a little food. Here we found the garrison and the inhabitants in a state of the most pleasurable excitement. Our vessel and another in company were the first of the season. The ice had left that part of the Lake long since, yet no sail had made its appearance in these waters till to-day. During the winter, residents upon the Island are in a state of complete separation from the rest of the world. The postmaster at Detroit was authorized to procure a foot-mail once a month, after the swamps and rivers were sufficiently frozen, and a Frenchman sometimes succeeded in taking a letter-bag through the wilderness, but papers and pamphlets directed to this quarter spent the winter in Detroit.

The first vessel therefore brought up the arrears of news, and produced those who had escaped in the fall to enjoy life and civilization in the cities. It opened a passage for the trader who for half a year had looked out upon snow and ice, to flee to the genial south, promised a renewed communication with friends and kindred, when he who had enjoyed only the range of a barren Island, could strike across the Lakes and the States to the Sea, mingling with old comrades and new friends. When transplanted from the contact of the gleeful Canadian and the boisterous Indian, he could taste the sweets of refinement, and partake of the delicious and chastening society of accomplished women.

Such had been the delay of our arrival that the anxiety of these exiles had become intense. All had partaken of the expectation, from the officer to the voyageur, and from morning till night they lingered in little knots upon the heights about old Fort Holmes, straining their eyes to catch the first glimpse of the first topsail on the clear line of the horizon. A dim speck, the canoe of the Indian, a floating log, a fragment of ice, or even a fleeting wave, by force of imagination and hope, righted up into a mast-head and colors peeping across the convexity of the watery surface.

At length a ship makes its appearance, and under full press of sail rounds the Island of Bois Blanc, and stands in for the anchorage. The passengers from its deck may see a commotion among the people on the brow of the hill, the swinging of hats, and the waving of handkerchiefs. But he cannot hear the acclamations, the almost frantic shouts of the Islanders.

The striped banner ascends the flag-staff of the fortress, while the American flag greets its fellow in the wavings of the breeze at the main peak, and the heaviest gun upon the works awaking from a winter's slumber, sends its heavy tones along the shore.—As the first boat grazes the pebbled beach, a congregation has clustered around the spot. Then follows the hearty gripe, the soul-felt recognition, and the silent, yet deep congratulations to which every organ except the eye refuses utterance.

The individual who had seen Mackinaw (or according to Noah Webster, Michillimackinack) as early as 1832, had been to the verge of civilization, and was expected to produce a description in detail. By the rapid enlargement of American occupation, it has now ceased to be a point of great interest, and will soon attract attention only for the historical reminiscences that attach to the name. Always the resting place of the Indian wandering from one Northern Sea to another, his camp-fire was seldom extinguished upon its shore.

About 1650, the countrymen of Father Hennepin and La Salle came along to dicker for furs, mingling the gibberish of the Frenchman with the gutturals of the native. Then the Englishman located himself there, with a half civil, and half military possession under the treaty of 1763. By the Revolution, the Americans acquired title, and in 1794 obtained possession of the Island.* The military occupied the old British fort, named Holmes by the Americans, in the rear of the present stockade, until 1812, when it fell by surprise into the hands of the English. The issue of the war made it again American ground, and since 1819 a small garrison has been in occupation, being the center of fur trading operations in the North-West till within two years.† It was the neutral ground of the Indian who came from beyond the Mississippi to get goods, presents and whiskey, and the harvest ground of the white man who took his furs, for a penny, and sold them to his brother or sister for a pound.

But the red man is no longer congregated here, and the white man has gone after him to "Fond du Lac," at the extreme of Lake Superior. The garrison is therefore unnecessary, the missionary deserted by his flock removed to "Ile Point," everything points to the speedy decline, if not the abandonment of this wild spot. The

*The British acquired possession of Mackinaw in 1761, by the surrender of Canada and its dependencies; and Detroit and Mackinaw were detained as British posts until 1796, when they were delivered to the American government under the provisions of Jay's Treaty.—L. C. D.

†That is to say, till 1836, for this paper was written by Col. Whittlesey, in 1838.

Island is limited in extent, rocky and steep, the main land adjacent rough and mountainous, but in summer a most delightful residence.

My passage through Wisconsin resulted from employment which detained me at Green Bay till September. Not having contemplated a description of any thing which transpired, or which I saw in that region, the present observations are mere gleanings of memory, unassisted by a single note, date or memorandum. They will be impressions rather than facts, the remains of marked incidents and events not yet obliterated by subsequent affairs.

Our schooner entered the Bay during the night, nearing the mouth of Fox river, where the settlement is, before morning. Emerging from the companion-way about sun-rise, we found ourselves midway from each shore, distant five or six miles, the land sloping on either hand towards the water. During the progress of the voyage no signs of vegetation were apparent, and the unbudded trees along Lakes Huron and Michigan still retained the bleakness of winter. The direct rays of the sun illuminated the western shore, leaving the dark shadows of morning still resting upon the east. Judge of our surprise and pleasure, when at the first glance, we saw the forests of both shores clothed with young leaves, rich in the velvet green of spring. We had left the realms of rough winds and floating ice, and were transferred in one night to calm and clear waters, and the gentle fannings of a southern breeze. Our latitude was higher than the lowest part of Lake Huron, yet the season was more than two weeks in advance of that spot. Whether the original discoverers came into this place under like circumstances and gave it a name accordingly, I am not informed, but the propriety of its title will strike every one who does.

The garrison is situated on the west side of Fox river, about one mile from its mouth. The old settlement occupies both sides of the river for about eight miles. Opposite to Fort Howard the town of Navarino had been built on paper, and some good houses were actually completed. The old village of "Shanty Town," otherwise "Menominee," already showed symptoms of a decline, being two miles further up the river. Around the head of the

Bay, the land is wet prairie and marsh, with long grass, furnishing musketoes in inexpressible numbers. But the land on the east of the Bay rises gradually from the water's level, covered with scattering oaks and occasional thickets of low timber. It is a limestone region, supporting a good soil, which bears in many places the marks of ancient cultivation. In the direction of Duck Creek there is some poor land. But receding from the river and the Bay on all sides, there will be found a fine agricultural country. The bottom lands are occupied by descendants of the French, who were here about a century and a half ago. Their locations are in the French style, narrow upon the river, and running back great distances. Beyond these claims, most of the country lies in a state of nature.

The Menominee Indians had but lately held the title to most of it, for a circuit of sixty miles, raising a few patches of miserable corn, on the low grounds. About eight miles south-west, a party of Stockbridge* Indians had been located by government, and were in the cultivation of lands as a civilized community. At the Great Kakalin, about twenty miles up the Fox river, a missionary establishment succeeded in bringing many of the Menominees to clear land, build comfortable cabins, and practice the art of husbandry. Some half-breeds occasionally preferred a hut to a wigwam, and raised a little corn, and a few potatoes. With these exceptions, this interesting tribe existed in a state of worse

*Or rather chiefly Oneidas. Rev. Eleazer Williams, with a deputation of the Oneidas, first visited the Green Bay region with a view to finding a new home, in the summer of 1820. Reporting favorably, in August, 1821, Williams again repaired to Green Bay, himself as the deputy of the St. Regis Indians, accompanied by a delegation of Oneidas, Stockbridges, Onondagoes, Senecas, and Munsees, who made a treaty with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and purchased a considerable territory from them.—In September, 1822, this territory was largely increased by an additional purchase. The New York Indians emigrated from time to time in bands and settled on their purchase. The writer of this note, well remembers seeing a party of Oneidas passing through Lockport, N. Y., on canal boats, on their way to Green Bay in 1826 or 1827, and among them were some very pretty, well behaved females, dressed in the costume of the whites. L. C. D.

than savage wretchedness. They are naturally a good natured people, and less ferocious than their Northern brethren. The Indian thirst for fire-water, however, reigned with them, even beyond the usual limit of aboriginal desire. As a consequence, murders were of common occurrence, and when committed beyond the reach or knowledge of American authorities, were not scrupulously noticed.

In person, they are of a thick-set frame, less tall, and in better condition than most Indians, and at least equally indolent. The thief is not so common a character with them, as with many other tribes. Their attachment to the United States, has not been exceeded by any Indian people. But the gratification of a never satisfied craving for whiskey, has debased them to the lowest point of human degradation. Oshkosh was at this time hereditary chief, and about twenty-one years of age.* He was a young chief, of strong sense, a murderer of one of his tribe, and a lover of strong drink. In council, he withheld his speech till late in the debate, but spoke with firmness and effect. The Grizzly Bear† is well known as the orator of the nation. He had a commanding manner in speech, but his talk exhibited more of the energetic declaimer than the speaker. There was in his character little to admire, being a great drunkard. His wife lay at night in the wigwam asleep, when he came in, ferocious, and overcome by liquor, and made a pass at her head with his tomahawk. The hatchet grazed the side of her head, through the unsteadiness of his aim, and sank into the earth. This was not occasioned by any quarrel

*Oshkosh was much older. In March, 1855, he represented himself to be sixty years of age, and those who know him say, that he appears to be about that age. His name and that of Josette Carron are attached to the treaty of Butte des Morts, in August, 1827. Oshkosh signifies brave. The ages of other Menomonee chiefs at this time, March, 1855, are—Souligny, *Head War Chief*, 70; Carron, 55; Na-Molte, 42; Osh-kee-he-naw-niew, or the *Young Man*, 49; Ah-ke-no-to-way, 37; Show-ne-on, or *Silver*, 82; Cas-a-gas-o-e-gay, 45. See *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 8, 1855. L. C. D.

†Kaush-kau-no-naive, or *Grizzly Bear*. signed the treaties of 1831 and 1832, but not that at Cedar Point in 1836—and hence was not probably then living. L. C. D.

or malice against her, and the blow was not repeated. The taking of life in that way, is a common occurrence, resulting from an inherent blood-thirstiness, roused into action by excessive drink.

At "Shanty Town" there was an Episcopal Mission, very ably conducted by Rev. Mr. C———. The prospect of enforcing civilization was certainly discouraging, and in examination of the school, though it exhibited the highest proofs of the perseverance, and benevolence, of its conductors, left no room to doubt the entire failure of a scheme so dear to American philanthropists. It is not necessary to determine, whether the Indian is, by a rule of heaven, destined to reject forever the blessings of education and agriculture, but it seems plain that before he will secure them, his present feeling must undergo a radical change. If it arose from a mere want of ability, or simple indifference, a hope of ultimate success might be indulged. The condition of his intellect is sound, but the inclination of his mind is adverse. There is an affected stupidity, an obstinate resistance, in relation to the reception of all learning; an innate distaste to all mental application, which hermetically seals up the talent of the race. If by any fortune, they had fallen prisoners into the hands of the ancient nations, as the spoils of conquest, and their native indolence had been overcome by servitude and the lash, as with the Helots of Greece, a few generations would have resulted in an amalgamation of blood, an exaltation of character, and the heroes, the orators, and the admirals, of the subduing nation, would have borne the mixture in their veins. Perhaps the same result would not follow a course equally rigorous and unjust, if adopted between the American and the Indian. But an entire revolution is to take place in the tendency of their present career, if, a century hence, the only living monuments of the red race, east of the Rocky Mountains, shall not be the half-breed and his descendants.

As has been observed, the original white settlers of the valley of the Fox river were French. In point of refinement and enterprise, they were advanced a degree above the aborigines with

whom they intermarried. They are a very brisk, lively people, who dance, sing, drink, and run horses, in winter drawing a meagre sustenance from the soil and the fur trade. There are now, however, some very respectable and educated persons in that vicinity, of Indian and French parentage.

During the spring, the "British Band" of the Sacs and Foxes returned to their grounds on Rock River, in Illinois, which gave rise to a border war. The circumstances of this affair have been so variously stated, that it is difficult to come at the truth. An important matter, to be settled on the part of the United States, by the expedition, was at that time considered to be, the punishment for murders committed at Fort Snelling the fall previous, by a party of Sauks and Foxes upon a body of Menominees. The assailants, ancient enemies of the Menominees, came up the river silently during the night, and sprang upon the lodges so secretly that the sentinels of the fort, though within cannon range, had no notice of their approach till the butchery began. It was near day light in the morning, and the offending party escaped before a force could reach the spot. The Menominees were faithful friends of the United States, and considered themselves under their protection. Justice required the interposition of our government to punish the murderers, and good policy demanded that these two Indian tribes, full of the bitterest enmity, should not be suffered to wage war among our frontier settlements. The Menominees were restrained in executing their vengeance, and promised that the murderers should be obtained, and tried. The Sauks refused to deliver them up, a measure which of itself would probably have led to a conflict if persisted in.

In the meantime, the return of Black Hawk took place, and the Illinois militia made an attack upon him at the Sycamore Creek. The defeat of the whites at this place encouraged the Indians and exasperated the frontier-men, putting an end to all hopes of an amicable arrangement. If this rash affair had not happened, there is very little doubt but a reconciliation might have been effected. Black Hawk was opposed to war. He had seen the pow-

er of the whites, but his young men had not. He was over-ruled by them, sustained as they were by Nahpope the Head Chief, and the Prophet,* who was a half-breed Pottawatamie priest of great influence. But when put at the head of their forces as the first War Chief of the nation, he determined to make the most of circumstances, and when General Atkinson sent him a talk, urging him to yield without bloodshed, and stating "that his troops would sweep over them like the fire over the prairies," the old chief replied "that he would find the grass green, and not easily burned."

When the Sauks and Foxes had retreated as far up Rock river as Lake Koshkonong, the settlement at Green Bay began to feel apprehensions. The picketing at Fort Howard had become rotten, and much of it was removed. There were but two companies in the garrison, one of which left for Fort Winnebago about mid-summer.

Preparations were made for receiving the citizens and their property within the stockade, having been patched out, by horizontal timbers, across the curtains. There was very little cause, however, for alarm, surrounded as we were by Menominees, who could muster a respectable band of warriors, and only waited for permission to do so. But the settlement was kept in a state of anxiety, during most of the summer, by false news, business and travel being in a measure suspended.

During this year, no steam boat came to the Bay, and vessels

*As this page is going through the press, the noble portraits of Black Hawk, his Son, and the Prophet, painted by Robert M. Sully, have safely arrived, and been placed in the rooms of the State Historical Society. Those of Na-she-a-kusk, or Loud Thunder, son of Black Hawk, and Wa-pe-she-ka, or The Light Cloud, better known as the Prophet, are originals, taken from life, in May 1833, at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Va.; and that of Mak-ka-tai-meh-shi-ka-ka, or Black Hawk, is a copy from the original taken at the same time—the copy being deemed, in tone and execution, superior to the original. The countenance of the Prophet indicates a malignant leer, which, with his dark massive locks, is in perfect keeping with his character; while old Black Hawk exhibits a noble, benevolent, intellectual physiognomy, so well befitting one of Natures Noblemen. There is nothing particularly remarkable in the appearance of Black Hawk his Son.

reached there but seldom. The troops under General Scott, who were expected to enter the country through this point, engaged most of the Upper Lake craft, and instead of proceeding by way of the Fox river, landed at Chicago. Under these circumstances time passed slowly.

About the first of September, after procuring horses and equipments, a stock of provisions, blankets, coffee, and liquor, a company of four took their departure for the Portage. The road since constructed between Forts Howard and Winnebago, not being then laid out, our route lay along the Fox river. The station we had just left, though sufficiently endowed by nature, had nothing in its then condition to cause regret on leaving it. Had the contrary been the case, the pleasant scenery of the river and the singular mixture of civilization and barbarism exhibited by the few people we saw; the unusual combination of valley and hill, of prairie and woodland, that distinguished the country, would have banished all regret. During the second day, we passed some most lovely situations on the banks of the river. The most romantic boarding-school miss never imagined a more enchanting display of nature. The country was elevated into rolling meadows fifty or sixty feet from the bed of the stream, and covered with scattered oaks, beneath which the coarse grass flourished in high luxuriance.

This river is obstructed by four considerable falls, beside rapids, but the only communication for goods, provisions, &c., to the military and trading posts in that quarter, is by navigation on this stream. At high water, a small river boat, of fifteen to twenty tons, is pushed against the current, till it comes to a fall, or "chute;" the cargo is here taken out until the "voyageurs" can force the craft up the rapid by main strength. In low water, it is with difficulty a bark canoe will swim. An Indian farm showed itself occasionally on its banks, but our path generally lay through a wild pasture, well stocked with the prairie hen. Near night we passed the "Little Butte des Morts," or *Hill of the Dead,* where the treaty of 1827

was held. It is a large mound apparently artificial, on the summit of which still stood the flag-staff of the American commissioners. The mound is reputed to contain the relics of departed warriors. Early in the day, we had crossed an open space of a few acres, where the Sauks once met the French in battle; which contained several small mounds, but apparently the result of winds acting upon a light soil. We slept at a hut on the southern shore of Lake Winnebago, near where the Fox river empties into it. From the rapids below the Lake to the Portage, this stream is sluggish, and though crooked, is of sufficient depth for transportation of boats. It is rather a succession of shallow lakes than a continuous river, bearing the wild rice in endless profusion. This plant strongly resembles the southern rice in the kernel, and somewhat in taste, furnishing excellent food for ducks and Indians. Where the water is still, it comes up from a depth of ten to fifteen feet, extending above the surface, in a dense green mass, about as high as grown flax. In the fall and winter, the Indian pushes his canoe through it, and shakes out the seed over the gunwale into his boat. It also serves to shelter him in his insidious designs against the wild ducks, who congregate among it, and lay claim to what they wish to eat. After pushing our way in a flat through a thick growth of this vegetable, about two miles, we were on the opposite shore of the river, near the spot where the father of "Grizzly Bear" is said to have lived, raised pumpkins and entertained the whites.

Here commences a low, rolling prairie that continued about fifty miles. The trail passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was called Yellow Thunder, from its chief. The Winnebago is the reverse of a Menominee. Tall in figure, haughty in his mien, proud of his nationality, and ever ready for war, he indulges in less drink and idleness than his neighbor, practices theft and murder, and repulses the advance of the white man. We had too often seen their treachery and duplicity, to be anxious to spend much time with them, and would have been quite willing that they had dispensed with following us out of the village on horseback.—

Though professedly friendly, they had acted as purveyors and spies to the Sauks and Foxes during the entire campaign. For this reason, they had been refused admittance into the forts at Green Bay and Winnebago, which apparently grieved them very much. But they only waited for a safe opportunity to appear as belligerents among Black Hawk's band, and if they had succeeded in entering Fort Winnebago, were to remain till an assault could be made from without, and join in the fight. The rations dealt out occasionally to friendly Indians, at the frontier posts by order of the government, were by them carried into the Sauk camp. Many of the murders charged to the latter, were actually committed by them, and particularly the cattle and goods so frequently stolen from the settlers by supposed enemies, were in truth appropriated by these professed friends.

We arrived at Fort Winnebago late at night, having made one hundred and forty miles in two and a half days. Fifty miles of this day's travel lay in a rolling prairie, over which a two-horse carriage travelled in company, although no road had been constructed. Nothing occurred to hinder the progress of a vehicle except an occasional marsh. On the right of our track lay at irregular distances the Fox river, and "Opukwa" or *Rice Lakes,* which were distantly seen as we rose the swells of the country. The garrison is at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, on a handsome rise, overlooking the immediate valley of both streams. This valley is a meadow or swamp about half a mile across, over which the waters of both channels mingle in time of flood, floating boats from the valley of the Mississippi to the valley of the Lakes. Goods destined for posts on the Upper Mississippi from the east, are here carted across and committed to the current of the Wisconsin. This river has capacity for steamboat navigation, but is filled with moveable sand bars from the portage to its mouth.

From the fort there were travelled roads leading to the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, at the mouth of Fever River near Galena, and at other points. After two days rest, we

took the route for Galena by way of the "Blue Mounds." At the distance of about fifteen miles in a south-westerly direction, the traveller discovers that he has imperceptibly attained an elevation commanding the timbered valley of the Wisconsin, and from which the stockade and white houses of the garrison are distinctly visible. On the east and north-east the Baribou hills rise out of the flat woodland and stretch away northwardly towards Lake Superior. He stands upon an eminence of five hundred feet, sloping gently down on all sides, covered with waving grass. On the east and south as far as the eye can distinguish, he perceives a succession of similar hills, their rounded summits ranging irregularly around, not a tree, nor a stone, nor any fixed object, to be seen in the whole prospect. In the spacious valleys that intervene, millions of small flowers mingle their bright colors with the green of the meadows, chastening and ruralizing the scene. An excitable person would exclaim at the sublimity of such a prospect, having the grandeur of a mountain without its loftiness, and the command of the sea without its monotony. A painter would pass from the grand outlines and dwell with delight upon the beauty of its details.

It was through such a country, varied by a few small lakes, that we spent this day. We started a plenty of grouse, and frequently saw the deer quietly feeding on the hill sides, secure from our rifles in the distance. The sight of a prairie wolf was not an uncommon thing. This animal differs materially from the common wolf, being less in size, of a gray color, and wanting in speed. It feeds upon the mice and small animals of the low prairie, seldom assaulting the farm yard. He is less ferocious than the fox-tailed wolf, and may be soon overtaken with a fleet horse. Their uniform practice in regard to us, after running away at a moderate step a couple of hundred yards, was, to face about and examine the company. There were no Indians along the route. The Winnebagoes, following their established customs, had abandoned their allies after their defeat at the "Bad Axe" about four weeks previous, and were in pursuit of the fugitives who had made off northwardly during the engagement, towards the Sioux country.

At night we slept upon the ground occupied by a war-party of the Menominees a fortnight previous, on the banks of a clear little brook. The transparency of running water in the prairie districts, is a matter of general surprise. A glass of this liquid taken from Apple Creek, a stream about sixty links wide, which puts into the Mississippi from the east, twelve or fifteen miles below Galena, would not suffer by a comparison of its purity and clearness, with the water of Lake Huron. The war party had left a good supply of odd fire-brands and chunks, for the purposes of our cookery and evening comfort. They had beaten down the grass, making a smooth place for our blankets, upon which were deposited our bodies, after the Indian fashion.

This tribe, though not in a war-like mood, had become impatient of the delay attending the subjugation and punishment of their late murderous and ancient foes, the Sauks. They had collected their warriors at the Agency, three miles up the Fox river from Fort Howard, anxious to avenge themselves. Col. Stambaugh, the agent, had at length promised them, if the war was not ended by a certain date, that they might march under his direction to the Wisconsin and take part in the work of our troops. Their progress *en route* was about twenty miles a day, marching in a single file, which of course left a distinct trail upon the ground. Our own men made twenty-seven miles a day on foot over the same country. About sun-down the Indian soldiers would collect themselves at a convenient spot, generally near a thicket, and always near water. They build fires, and set up a row of posts or crotches in front, and lay poles from one to the other, as a protection against the enemy. After the evening meal, they frequently hold a dance about the leading chief, accompanied by a due proportion of songs, and threats against the foe. Then all compose themselves in perfect security about the fires, entrusting the guardianship of the camp to the watchfulness of their little dogs. Sentinels were sometimes persuaded to take post a few yards in advance; but they also betook themselves to their blankets, and slept till day-light.

It was now early in September, and everything conspired to nerve the system and animate the senses. The sky had not shown a cloud for many days; the air was cooled by an ever moving breeze; countless flowers shone in purple and gold about us, and wherever we chose to move, the ground was firm and smooth as a turnpike. A new and unmingled pleasure diffused itself through the company, of which even the animals seemed to partake.

The path wound around the northern shores of the Four Lakes, from which Gen. Dodge, with a band of mounted militia of the mining district, had lately driven the remnant of Black Hawk's force. The scattering trails of the retreating Indians were still distinct. Sometimes they would all converge into one broad and plain track, then again radiate in different directions, continually branching and spreading over the country, dwindling to a mere trace. This resulted from their method of travel, sometimes in a body, then in classes, these again subdivided, and so on, for the double purpose of deceiving their pursuers in regard to their true route, and also of dispersion and escape in case of attack. It proved one of the greatest annoyances and hindrances of the expedition. In the present instance, delay on the part of General Dodge became a matter of life and death. From April till the latter part of July, they had evaded the white forces. During this period, they had been driven but little over an hundred miles, that is, from the Sycamore Creek to the Four Lakes. Much of the time their exact position could not be known. They were now suffering by famine, and found it necessary to cross the Wisconsin into the timber country north of that stream, for subsistence. Probably there is not a known instance where attachment to a cause and to a leader has continued under circumstances of such discouragement. They were encumbered with women and children, and had been so closely watched for two months, that little opportunity occurred to fish or to hunt. They had lived upon roots, boiled grass, bark of trees, anything capable of sustaining life, before they would kill the horses upon which the squaws and papooses rode. They were now reduced to a state of utter starva-

tion, with thirty miles of country to be traversed, and the whites had discovered their camp-fires the night previous across a small lake. If they could cross the Wisconsin before an attack was made, the fish of the stream would furnish them a meal, and the river itself a protection. The militia were in motion at day-light, and within a few miles of the forlorn band. Along the trail lay the bodies of famished men, women and children; some dead, others helpless and exhausted to the last degree by fatigue and hunger. These wretched and worn-out creatures, if still living, were bayonetted upon the spot. The exasperated frontiersman now finding his victim within reach, imbibed the ferocity of his enemy, dealing instant death to every one that fell in his power. In fact, early in the season, Gen. Atkinson had found it necessary to place a guard over his Indian prisoners, in order to save their lives.

An instance is known of a decrepid old man, to whom a loaf of bread had been given, and he suffered to depart. He had not passed out of hearing, when he was dispatched by the bayonet, and his food distributed among the murderers. At a fight near the Mississippi, just previous to the final action at the Bad Axe, a fine young chief about fourteen years of age, was taken, with silver bracelets on his arm. The militia-man who captured him was only prevented from butchering him on the spot, by a threat from a lieutenant of the regular service, that his own life should instantly answer for that of the prisoner.

In such plight were the fugitives, and with such a spirit their pursuers were rapidly approaching. The foremost of the mounted men fell in with the scattered divisions of the enemy about two miles from the river. The party attacked fought desperately. The mounted squaws, provided with rifles, joined in the engagement, and the main body succeeded in crossing, with the loss of about thirty. Their fate is well known.

On the second day we passed the foot of the Blue Mound. It is a high hill of regular ascent, overlooking the country, and serves as a beacon to the traveller thirty miles distant. At night we slept in a Block-House in the mining district. Within sight of the sta-

tion, a newly made grave lay at the road-side in the midst of a solitary prairie. The person over whom it was raised had ventured too far from the house, and approached a thicket of bushes. Suddenly a band of concealed Indians sprang upon him, with the fatal whoop on their tongues; his scalp, heart, and most of his flesh, were soon stripped from the body, and a savage dance performed about the remains.

The country is still prairie, with scattering tufts of inferior timber. The huts of the miners had been deserted on account of the difficulties now terminated, and the business of making lead was about to re-commence. Occasionally a farm might be seen running out from an island of timber, and supplied with comfortable buildings. But most of the improvements were of a temporary nature, consisting of a lead furnace and the cabins adjacent. The process of reducing lead ore is very simple and rapid. The furnace is a face wall, about two feet thick, located upon a gentle slope of the ground, with an arch or passage through the center; on each side of the arched opening, and in the rear or up-hill side, two wing walls run out transversely to the face wall, between which the wood is laid. The ore is placed upon it, and a continual fire kept up. The lead gradually separates from the dross, and runs into a cavity in front of the arch.

The "Mining District" east of the Mississippi, must include ten thousand square miles. Galena or lead ore is found in veins or threads, more often in a square form, of various sizes, and running in all directions with the horizon. They are liable to disappear suddenly, to enlarge and diminish in size, to combine with other materials, rendering the operations of mining very uncertain. Their course is generally straight and not curved, seldom exceeding a foot in breadth. The analysis yields 85 to 90 per cent. of lead, of which the first smelting of the furnace extracts about 75 per cent. It requires skill and experience to discover the vein, but very little of either to work it when discovered. The limestone formation of Green Bay and Lake Michigan extends to this region, embracing copper ore at "Mineral Point," and at other

places. At this time the government leased the ground to practical miners, who rendered a proportion of the product in kind. In consequence of the derangements of the times, although the supply was small, lead was then dull at three cents per pound. The supply appears to be inexhaustible. In one respect, this region differs from the mineral regions of other countries. There are but few veins that justify a pursuit to great depths, and although they are very numerous, the pits and trenches are easily filled up, and the rich soil left capable of cultivation. The great drawback upon the agricultural prospects of the Mining District, arises from the consumption of the little timber that grows there, in melting the lead. How long the presence of this mineral has been known, and its value understood, is not exactly known; but there are mines which were worked by the French, soon after they ascended the Mississippi. The Indians could scarcely have found use for it before the introduction of fire-arms among them.

Arriving at Galena, we found the place crowded with people. The mineral riches of the Dubuque country were well known, and it was expected that General Scott would secure the title to a considerable tract west of the river, including the richest mines.—The negotiation was still pending at Rock Island relative to the purchase. Thousands of adventurers lined the eastern shore of the Mississippi, ready to seize upon the possession and pre-emption rights in the new territory the moment they became perfect. In this case as in many others, guards of soldiers were necessary to keep the whites from taking unlawful occupancy of Indian lands. It has become fashionable to abuse the government for its conduct towards the red man. My observation has, on the contrary led me to admire rather than to condemn the folly and practice of the Federal authority in this respect, believing, that in general, its magnanimity, kindness, and protection, demand the lasting gratitude of the Indian race. But with the frontier settler it is otherwise. The wrongs of the Indian are individual, not national offenses.—When the pioneer crosses the boundary line agreed upon by the two people, through their proper agents, he is a trespasser, and his

life taken within their jurisdiction is not cause of quarrel, if he persist in usurping occupation. We may admire his enterprise in pushing forward beyond the range of his fellow-men, but must condemn that morality which allows a forcible seizure and detainer of property to be right. Parties of men, such as locators and surveyors on Indian ground, may be considered beyond the protection of the government, and if killed while persisting in maintaining possession, contrary to the will of the owners, their loss is not the subject of retaliation. But beyond the lines mutually established, the red man ought not to push his revenge, and the early massacres within the acknowledged limits of our jurisdiction, made it a duty in the government to preserve the integrity of its territory. Murders committed by whites upon Indians, either in their own country or otherwise, have been the crying enormities resulting from the contact of civilization with barbarism. If it can be shown that our authorities could have prevented these individual outrages of its citizens, it will then be connected with the primitive encroachments of one race upon the other. That it should enforce agreements and cessions, entered into in good faith, and retain territory acquired by just war, can scarcely be considered a national sin. Is the government of the United States in fault because the Aborigine is unable to secure his own territory against individual intrusion?—or because, in his thirst for whiskey and baubles, he chooses to barter his patrimony for a drink or a bead? The intelligent Indian himself draws a distinction between the official acts of the nation, and the unauthorized proceedings of traders and speculators. On the part of the former, they have to acknowledge that they have been permitted to occupy grounds long after they had agreed to depart; that their dissatisfaction with compacts was not shown till after the presents were received, and sometimes not until after payment had been made; that the compensation has been faithfully tendered, and implements, schools, and artisans provided free of expense. They would be forced to admit, that gratuities and presents, above the stipulated price, have been bestowed to purchase peace, and to obtain the fulfill-

ment of their previous engagements; and to acknowledge, that after the receipt of the increase, they still forced the United States to war to obtain what they had bargained and paid for.

The fate of the Indian cannot fail to raise a deep sympathy in the mind. But to maintain that it is not the duty of the government to secure, by all upright means, the title to those lands, is equivalent to the proposition that the earth was designed to produce game, and not the bread of life, to sustain but one human being upon a square mile capable of maintaining one hundred.

The case of the Sauks and Foxes has been recently quoted, as a strong instance of the injustice practised by the American nation, upon Indian tribes. The assault upon Black Hawk at the Sycamore Creek, was the act of frontier men under arms; and if acting under any authority, derived the same from the Executive of Illinois. It was the result of a border feeling, which permits the destruction of an Indian upon the same principle that it does the wolf. No murders had been perpetrated upon the whites, or other acts committed that called for summary punishment. The attack was a rash and unprovoked affair. But it is equally true, that the party assailed were in force in a country they had ceded to the United States, and had agreed to abandon. After this transaction, General Atkinson, who commanded the regular troops assembled upon the Mississippi, made every effort to induce them to return peaceably, and confine themselves to the territory allotted them, and accepted as their home. Their prompt refusal left no alternative. The generalship of their chief prolonged the contest five months, without any offers of surrender on the part of Black Hawk and his brave band. They resisted until starvation and force compelled them to do that which had been urged upon them from the outset, to retreat towards the Mississippi. When at last overtaken upon its banks, reduced in numbers, emaciated by hunger, worn down by incessant toil, they still fought with their little remaining strength, till their force was either killed or captured. It is also to be recollected, that this band had always been among our opponents in war, when an opportunity

occurred; always attached to the British interests, and received British presents. They were taken as prisoners by military force, arms in hand, fighting to the last, and breathing vengeance in the prison after their capture. Under such circumstances, what rights were left this people, as a tribe or nation. Their miraculous attachment to their chief, and to each other; their wonderful endurance under hardships and privation; boldness, skill and bravery in fight, must command our admiration. But their political rights, which might have been retained by complying with the offered terms, were lost by resistance and conquest.

The treatment of Black Hawk and other prisoners, has often been matter of animadversion. Of all the men, women and children captured by our regular troops, only eighteen were put in confinement. These constituted the influential men of the tribe, who never flagged in their efforts against the government. Black Hawk, it is true, from motives of prudence, being well cognizant of our power, was in favor of peace. He was also an Indian who had a sense of honor, as well as policy; a man in whom those who knew him confided. But he had exerted all his influence and skill against us in the campaign just closed; and however patriotic towards his own people, he was decidedly a dangerous enemy of ours. Wisheet, one of the chiefs in confinement, continued to fire his rifle from behind a few logs, till he was secured and sent to the rear; and his only regret, during confinement, seemed to be that he had not been able to kill more whites. The enmity of the Prophet is well known. Nahpope, the ruling chief, was only second to Wisheet in his fury against the white man, and always counseled for resistance. The two sons of Black Hawk were perhaps less harmless in the forests than in the cities, but their detention ensured the good conduct of the father and tribe. With the exception of Black Hawk, they spent their time at Jefferson Barracks, with a ball and chain on one leg—a precaution, the necessity of which was never doubted by those acquainted with the circumstances. That personage, fond of multiplying his wrongs, has charged us with loading chains upon him during his detention

upon the Mississippi. I am unable to say in what condition he was brought from the Sioux country, when he was taken to Jefferson Barracks, where he was lodged in the guard-house with his confederates. But late in the period of his confinement at that post, he had not been shackled, as I was informed by those on duty at the time, having faith in his pledged word not to escape. Four of the eighteen were transported to Fortress Monroe, from which they were soon liberated, and escorted to their homes, where they met their fellow prisoners, and such of their brethren and sisters, as had survived the war. Their band was merged in that of Keokuk, and their nationality forever gone. There remained, however, life, hunting-grounds, and annuities, as before.

Galena lies about seven miles east of the Mississippi, on the north side of Fever river, up which stream boats come to town in high water. Block houses against Indians were standing on the heights overlooking the place, which may have contained 2,000 inhabitants. It had all the business air of an old place, though sadly deficient in cleanliness and comfort. The quiet of its people was again most completely destroyed by the appearance of the Asiatic cholera, the night previous to our arrival; and the first victim, a young lady, was borne along the street on a bier, as we entered.

Legends of the Winnebagoes

Communicated by R.W. Haskins Esq., of Buffalo, N.Y.

Introductory Note.—The history of the Legend, so far as I am connected with it, is as follows: In September, 1892, I was one of the proprietors and editors of the *Buffalo Journal.* At that time, Mr. Pliny Warriner, who was just from the country of the Winnebagoes, was spending some time in our then village. He made my acquaintance, and related to me many of his western adventures, and among others this one, which interested me so much that I wrote it out from his oral narration, aided by his imperfect notes. He assured me that he had added absolutely nothing to the literal facts as they actually occurred, and in reducing his statement to print, I adhered strictly to his narrative, without embellishment, which, as here communicated, appeared in the Buffalo Journal of Sept. 15th, 1829. R. W. H.

The following communication of "Pliny" will be read with interest. The singularity of the narrative itself, and the still more singular circumstances of its relation—detailed, as it was, to our author, while seated upon the top of a monumental pile, in the midst of a trackless forest, by one whose aged heart still clung to the past and bled at its recollections of fallen greatness—conspire to clothe the whole with more than ordinary novelty.

Legend of the Winnebagoes

Early in the spring of 1828, it will be recollected that one of those border wars which so often rage along our western frontiers,

broke out between the Winnebago Indians and the adjoining settlements. At that period it was my fortune to be within the Indian territory, seeking my way through the pathless forests that divide the Portage of the Ouisconsin from the settlement of whites at Green Bay. The cause of the rupture alluded to was the murder of a man by the name of *Bomer,** who was found dead in his own house, the body bearing evident marks of violence. The murders perpetrated the preceding summer, by the Winnebagoes, on the Mississippi, immediately fixed suspicions upon their tribe, in this instance; and although the deed was subsequently traced to the partner of Bomer, a white man, yet the resentment of the miners for a considerable time carried on a most desolating crusade against these sons of the forest. Those not prepared to repel the invasion, which was wholly unprovoked, and equally unexpected, were driven to seek safety in flight. A company thus fleeing to the deeper recesses of their native forests, I fell in with, upon the journey I have mentioned. The party consisted of about forty persons, principally women and children, led by an old man whose locks were bleached by the frosts of some eighty winters. He was a chief, and he designated his little band by the collective and endearing appellation of "*my family.*" After the suspicions which the colour of my skin had roused were allayed, the old man approached me, and his cordial shake of the hand, his proffer of the lighted pipe, and a portion of his jerked venison, gave me every assurance that I had met a friend. Our courses lay in the same direction, and we proceeded together. On resuming our march, the countenance of the old chief, which had been animated, sunk and became dejected. At times a tear stole silently down his furrowed cheek; but when a murmur escaped the lips of any of his band, it was checked as soon as articulated, by a glance that could not be mistaken. As these were all uttered in the Winnebago language, which no white man ever understood, I knew them only to be words of grief.

*John Bonner.—See Niles Register, vol. xxxv, p. 151.

After travelling several hours across a beautiful prairie, we approached a lake, the bank of which was adorned with a few large trees, and its shore presented a series of regularly ranged mounds, conveying to a distant eye the appearance of a formal town. On entering the cluster of these, each individual, in turn, ascended quite to the top of the highest, preceded by the aged veteran, where he first turned his face to the sun, (which was low in the west,) then towards the Mississippi, and making a violent motion with the right hand, as if wielding the tomahawk, he ejaculated a few words in his native tongue, and immediately rejoined us by the path he had ascended. The nature of this mysterious rite I was anxious to understand. My questions to this point, however, were carefully avoided for some time, until a small present overcame the scruples of the chief, when he accosted me in the Chippewa language thus: "My friend, no white man ever saw the Winnebago ascend that mound before, nor has one of our tribe ever disclosed to the whites the origin of the mounds you see around us. You are the Indians' friend—if you were not, you would not trust yourself with me when your brothers are hunting my children like the wild deer of the prairie. You have smoked with me the pipe of friendship, and I will tell you all." He then took me by the hand, led me to the summit of the principal mound, and bade me sit down. I drew forth my writing materials to assist my memory, but my guide exclaimed, "no, no, you must not—paper tell every body: paper lie too: you remember enough." I should here observe that the Chippewa language is the classical tongue of all the North Western Indians and traders, and the one through which all their intercourse is carried on. In this tongue, with which I was acquainted, after we had each taken a whiff from his long pipe, he thus began:

"My friend—the Winnebagoes are not like other men. They came not from the east; they are the only children of the Great Spirit. He put them on one side of the great waters (Lakes), and his two great lights on the other. He gave us the buffalo, the moose, the elk, and the deer, for food, and their skins he taught us

to use for clothing. He filled the waters with fish, and covered the land with choice fruits. All these he gave to us; and he marked with his finger between us and the great lights, that we might not approach them. Upon the other side of us he placed a land of winters, where no Indian could live. After this the Long Knives (English) came, not as enemies, but as friends.—They took our bows and gave us guns, for our skins they gave blankets and calicoes, and they gave strong drink to our hunters. They enticed away the young squaws, and when the Winnebago went after them they would not come back. Soon the hunter get lazy, love strong drink, and die. Many, very many die so. Then it was that the Great Spirit told his oldest child, the great chief of the Winnebagoes, in his sleep, to leave the country to the Long Knives, and cross the great water to a land nearer the great lights, where no white man had gone. We went forward, found a good land where this river (Fox, which enters into Green Bay) goes into the great water. For two moons we found plenty of game, and saw no Indians. We thought the Great Spirit had taken them all away to make room for his children; when one morning we found the river full of canoes and Indians for one day's ride in length. Our chiefs and old men held a talk, and a canoe was sent to the strangers with as many men as there are moons in a year. They carried presents of wampum, fruits, sugar and meat. These never returned. Their pipes of peace were thrown into the river, and their mangled bodies were hung upon the trees. Dogs were fastened in the canoe dressed like the Winnebagoes, and the bark, with these, came down the river to our villages. Our good chief seeing the tears of his warriors for their friends who were slain, struck his foot in wrath upon a solid rock, which sunk it to his ankle, and called his father, the Great Spirit, to witness that the tomahawk be unburied with the Foxes, Sacs, and Chippewas, until a tree should grow from the place where his foot then stood. He then burnt a council fire in sight of his enemies, and put blood upon the trees that they might see more was soon to be wasted. When they saw this, they fled up

the river to Winnebago Lake. Our warriors followed—a battle was fought on its banks, which we lost, as part of our fighting men were deceived in the long grass by their guide. The Winnebagoes being swiftest on foot, gained this spot before the evening. It was then the enemy's town, and they soon came, with their prisoners, little thinking we were here. Finding us in their town they kindled their fires upon all sides, and sent in word that the next day they would eat the Winnebago chief. With the dawn the fight began. We soon drove the Foxes down the river, but they went round and joined the Sacs, who were above us. The rest of that day all was quiet, but the next night, at the rising of the moon, they again came out from their hiding places. This fight did not stop for three days; and we lost ten men for each day and night of the year, before it was ended. On the third day our chief fell, covered with wounds. While he still lived, he called to his warriors to remember his wrongs: and with his own hands he pressed the blood from his wounds, which he gave them to strengthen their hearts. He lived to hear the cries of his enemies as they fled, and then, under this mound, where he lay, he opened his mouth, and his spirit departed. In that battle the Winnebagoes kept the town, took many hundreds of canoes and many prisoners. These, except the young squaws, we killed. Those that escaped fled up the river, and the next day we pursued them. We came to the lake which makes the Fox river, and hunted for our enemy three days. Thinking the Great Spirit had taken them all from the country, to stop our pursuit, we were about to obey his wishes and return, when we discovered a trail in the high grass. This we followed a little, when we came to a strange river (the Ouisconsin), running towards the Father of Rivers (the Mississippi), into which they had put their canoes. We now agreed to follow and fight our enemy, until he should leave this stream, and cross the Father of Rivers. At the Blue Mounds we fought them; and there we were joined by the Pottawatomies, and they by the Menominies. At the mouth of the Ouisconsin they made mounds, and put their women and children behind them, for they expected a

great battle. The Winnebagoes had more fighting men than their enemies, but they fought for the last of their country, and the Winnebagoes for revenge. For thirteen days the bloody strife did not cease, and hundreds of brave men fell on each day. At length the Great Spirit raised a loud storm of thunder, lightning, hail and wind, which caused both parties to stop, for they thought the Great Father of all was angry with his children. The Winnebagoes stood still, and their enemies all crossed the Father of Rivers, where they now live, at eternal war with our nation. No Fox or Sac meets a Winnebago, (except in council,) but one must die. All that great land between the Ouisconsin and the Mississippi is to this day disputed ground, and neither can safely occupy it. Chippewa or Winnebago go there, he die—but no matter, Winnebago, Chippewa, Fox and Sac, all have country enough now. Sixty winters have passed over us since my father, who was then strong, told me of these deeds of our nation. But, my friend, the Winnebagoes are not now wise. Once they had many thousand fine warriors. But every year we grow smaller. Too much our young men go into the white man's house, and strive to live like him. They drink strong drink, and soon die. Traders buy our skins, and give us strong drink, calico and beads, which are not good for Indians. The skins of our game we want for clothes, and we could raise corn for ourselves were we left alone; but soon, my friend, we shall be no more. A few short years and our nation will be unknown. Then, when the stranger shall pass along here, and look upon the scenes of so many battles that have been won by the only children of the Great Spirit, and shall call out, upon every hill, *where is the Winnebago?* echo alone shall answer from the west—*"where is the Winnebago!"*

"Our enemies, the Sacs and Foxes, have grown strong, and could now destroy us. They have shunned the ways and the haunts of the white men, and their people have multiplied. Their nations are large, and their warriors healthy and brave; while the forms of our old men are wasted with age, and our young men are drunkards, like the whites. Our young squaws have be-

come the companions of traders and boatmen, and our families are broken up. We are surrounded upon all sides by white men, save one, and on that, live our sworn and eternal enemies. We have but one recourse left. We own the land where the two rivers run different ways, (the Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers,) and to that we must now fly. When that is gone, the Winnebago will have no hope—and he will no longer ask to live."

Here the veteran chief ended his harangue, and seemed much affected at the deplorable, though just picture, which he had drawn of his nation. My sympathies were roused, and I felt, for once at least, as became a philanthropist—compassion for the stoic of the forest, and shame for the treatment he had suffered at the hands of my nation. But the object of these mounds, and of the rites observed upon their tops, I had not yet learned, and when my aged chronicler had roused himself from his melancholy musings, I repeated my inquiries upon these points. He paused for a moment, and answered thus: "My friend, this place was long since called, by white men, *'Boute de Morte.'** The mounds you see were raised, each over the grave of some renowned chief, who fell in the great battle here. By a custom of our nation, every Winnebago who comes in sight of this mound upon which we are now seated, must ascend to the top, and observe the rites you witnessed. When turning to the sun, we swear that our arm, while it has power, shall be exerted in defence of this land, in remembrance

*Literally, *Heel-piece of death.* The French phrase used by the chief must have been introduced, probably, by the French Jesuits, to translate the Winnebago name—a name that seems to have been given to the spot from the shape of the shore, resembling a human foot, at the *heel* of which the mounds are situated. Hence it was the heel, or heel-piece—and the consequences of the battle fought there would readily suggest the remainder.

[This definition is probably erroneous, owing, perhaps, to Mr. Warriner misunderstanding the pronunciation. Instead of *Bout de Morte*, it is universally referred to as *Butte des Morts*, or *Hill of the Dead*—where the slain in battle were buried. A battle was here fought in 1714, between the French and Outagamies or Foxes, which is noticed by Charlevoix, Wynne, and other early historians, and in Gen. Smith's Hist. of Wisconsin.—L. C. D.]

of the son of the Great Spirit who sleeps below; and when facing the Sacs and Foxes, we swear ever to remember and revenge the death of the best of Chiefs, the favorite son of the Great Spirit, who fell by their hands."

PLINY.

Early Times in Wisconsin

Written by H. A. Tenney, in 1849

Early times—Indian disturbances—first permanent white settler within the limits of Dane county—Blue Mounds Fort—savage massacres—Sauk war—location of Madison, &c., &c.

The incidents of the early settlement of our state, however unimportant in a national point of view, are worthy of being treasured up for the remembrance of posterity. But few of these hardy and daring men who came into the country many years in advance of the present population, now remain among us, and the little circle is rapidly contracting. It belongs to this generation and our time to collect together the personal history, experience, and adventures of these worthy and veteran pioneers, and preserve it as a very essential and interesting part of our local annals.

One of these earliest comers to the south-western part of the State, was Ebenezer Brigham, of Blue Mounds, the oldest and undoubtedly the first permanent settler within the present limits of Dane county—a man of rare modesty, unsullied reputation, possessing a strong and retentive memory, and who is really a living history of the "life and times" of the very first white settlers. We have never been able to induce him to write out a sketch of those early times; but having got him fast by the button-hole a few days since, we took the occasion to jot down some

items, which we serve up in our own way, in connection with other matters, trusting that more complete details will be obtained, of which he has a large fund, and that the reader will bear in mind the admonition he gave us, not to make him the hero of the tale.

Mr. Brigham journeyed from Worcester, Mass., to St. Louis, in 1818. The Upper Mississippi country was then almost unknown. Beyond the narrative of Pike's expedition, and the somewhat vague reports of hunters, boatmen, and a few lead diggers about Dubuque, the public possessed no reliable information, and felt little if any interest. It was regarded as a wild region filled with hostile savages, and very few were willing to trust themselves among them. In 1822 Mr. B. followed up the river on horseback, to the present site of Galena; the place then consisting of one log cabin, and a second one commenced, which he assisted in completing. Shortly after he returned to Springfield, the present capital of Illinois, the young city then containing four or five cabins. In '27 he again returned to the lead region for the purpose of embarking in the business. With a small party he pitched his tent on what is now called the Block House Branch of the Platte river, about four miles south of the present village of Platteville, for the purpose of prospecting. From this point the party retreated in some haste to Galena, owing to the commencement of hostilities by the Indians.

As the particulars of this outbreak are not generally known, we digress a little to give a few of the leading facts.

Gen. Cass had made an appointment to meet the Winnebagoes at Butte des Morts. On the day fixed for the council, not an Indian appeared. Alarmed at this, and other hostile signs, he rapidly descended the river to Prairie du Chien, where the people had all taken shelter in the garrison, and where he heard of an attack on a government boat, which had been up the river with supplies for the garrison at St. Peters, a short time previous. Hastening immediately to Galena, he notified the citizens of their danger, and advised them to build block-houses for their protection.

The boat alluded to, had already reached Galena, and as the fight shows some of the perils of river navigation during those early days, we give the particulars in brief. In descending, the boats had to pass a narrow place between an island and the main shore. The Indians, several hundred in number, had stationed themselves on both sides, and had also prepared canoes to board, if necessary. The forward boat was suffered to pass unmolested; but when the second came within reach, it received a discharge from the whole force, killing one man and wounding another. The fire was returned, but with little effect, as the crew were in a very exposed and awkward situation. In this position of affairs, an attempt was made to board, and a strapping warrior jumped on to the stern, seized the tiller, and set the vessel ashore, but not till after a bullet struck him dead. At this juncture an Irishman of the crew, familiarly called *"Saucy Jack,"* jumped ashore, and, amidst a shower of bullets, shoved it off, and escaped unhurt, the boat proceeding without further molestation, carrying off the body of the ambitious Indian, which was left at Galena. The sides of the vessel, the boxes, &c., were riddled by over three hundred bullet holes.

This was a period of great suffering at Galena. The weather was inclement, and two or three thousand persons driven suddenly in, with a scant supply of provisions, without ammunition or weapons, encamped in the open air, or cloth tents which was but little better, were placed in a very disagreeable and critical position.

From Galena, Gen. Cass proceeded with the utmost dispatch to Jefferson Barracks. A large force under Gen. Atkinson immediately came up the river in boats, as far as the Portage (Fort Winnebago), Generals Dodge and Whitesides with companies of volunteers following along each side on land, and scouring out the lurking savages. A force from Green Bay also concentrated on the same point, and the Indians beheld with dismay a formidable army in the midst of their country. The result was a treaty of peace, and the giving up of Red Bird, who had a year previous massacred a family near Prairie du Chien.

The reports made by the officers and men, on their return from this warlike expedition, first drew public attention to the unbounded fertility and exhaustless resources of south-western Wisconsin—and their return was followed by a large immigration to the lead region.

It was while this force was on its march, that Mr. Brigham and his party returned and built a block-house at the point they had left, and recommenced their diggings.

In the spring of 1828, he removed to Blue Mounds, the most advanced outpost in the mines, and has resided there ever since, being by four years at least, the oldest white settler in the county. The isolated position he thus settled upon, will be apparent from the statement of a few facts. The nearest settler was at what is now Dodgeville, about twenty-four miles distant. Mineral Point and most of the other diggings where villages have since grown up, had not then been discovered. On the south-east, the nearest house was on the O'Plaine river, twelve miles west of Chicago. On the east, Solomon Juneau was his nearest neighbor, at the mouth of the Milwaukee river; and on the north-east, Green Bay was the nearest settlement—Fort Winnebago not then having been projected.

The country at this time was part of Michigan Territory. The northern boundary of Illinois was so vaguely defined, that the diggers on the Mounds voted at the Shullsburg precinct for congressmen for the Sucker State. Soon after locating at this place, Mr. Brigham visited Green Bay in company with others, to attend an Indian council, in order to settle on certain boundaries between the whites and red men. The line fixed upon was drawn from the head of that branch of the Blue Mounds creek that heads east of them, to that branch of the Peckatonakic that heads east of the Mounds, and down these streams to the Wisconsin and Rock respectively. The Indians blazed the trees along this line, notifying the whites not to pass it—a prohibition about as effectual as the whistling of the wind.

To explain the reason for this treaty, it may not be amiss to look back a little at some matters of diplomacy connected with the natives. Some time between the years 1814 and 1818, (we have not the documents at hand,) some tribe ceded the lead region to the United States. As the real owners refused to be bound by it, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, as Indian Agent, was directed to cede it back again. In doing this, he reserved three leagues at Prairie du Chien, together with such other tracts as the President might select, not in all exceeding five leagues. This is the substance of it as we gather from report, not having time to hunt up the treaty; but under it the War Department allowed locations in tracts of 200 yards square, and if the miner found no mineral within his stakes, he pulled them up and set them down again at such places, and as often, as he pleased. The effect thus was, that the whites took possession of pretty much the whole mining region. It was in consequence of complaints growing out of this construction of the treaty, that the council was held, and the new boundary agreed upon.

In 1832 the Black Hawk war broke out. The Winnebagoes were professedly friendly, but it was evidently a kind of friendship not to be relied upon in case of a reverse to the whites. To guard against surprise, Mr. B. and his neighbors built a block house in a very commanding position on the prairie near the Mounds, called *"Blue Mounds Fort."* Into this the following persons withdrew, and kept up a regular guard day and night, about three months, to wit: Ebenezer Brigham, Thomas McCraney, Esau Johnson, John C. Kellogg, Jeremiah Lycan, George Force, Emmerson Green, William Auberry, Jonathan Ferrall, John Sherman, Hugh Bowen, Jacob Keith, Alfred Houghton, —— Houghton, John Dalby, James Collins, William Collins, Moses Collins, Harvey Brock and French Lake.

After Stillman's defeat in May, the Sauks spread rapidly over northern Illinois, for purposes of massacre and plunder. The murder of the families of Messrs. Pettrigrew, Davis, and part of that of Mr. Hall, in La Salle county, is generally known, and of no far-

ther importance here, than is connected with the giving up of the two captives (Miss Halls*). It seems that the murderers immediately fled northward, following up Rock river a number of miles, and finally put their capitives into the hands of the Winnebagoes, it is believed, for safe keeping, for the purpose of securing better terms of peace with the whites. News of the event was expressed to the Mound, and a reward of $2000 offered for the two captives. Word was sent to White Crow, who with his band was encamped somewhere about the First Lake. The result was, that next day the Indians came to the Fort and gave them up—and they were returned to their surviving friends—the reward, doubtless, in the estimation of the Indians, outweighing the obligations of friendship.

A day or two after the departure of these captives, William Auberry was murdered at a spring near Mr. Brigham's present residence, by the Winnebagoes. He was shot from his horse, and such valuables as he had about him were carried off. The assassins escaped punishment.

About twenty days after, George Force and Emmerson Green, while out on a scout, were set upon by a party of sixty or seventy Sauk warriors, in view of the fort, and both killed. Had the Indians not stopped about half an hour to dance around and mangle the bodies of their victims, the little garrison must have been destroyed, as, owing to a feeling of security, only six were left in the

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*The narrative of these captives is one of the most harrowing incidents of the war. On the 21st of May, 1832, the families of Messrs. Hall and Pettigrew were assembled at the house of William Davis, in Indian Creek settlement. The first intimation they had of danger was the sudden appearance at the gate of some seventy savages, who rushed into the house and butchered all its inmates, men, women, and children, to the number of fifteen—sparing only these two sisters, who were taken captives, and delivered up as above stated. They were well treated, aside from the hardships of their rapid journey. It seems scarcely possible at this day, that such tragedies were enacted in this country only about seventeen years ago.

†Aubrey was killed June 6th, and Force and Green on the 20th of that month. See Smith's Hist. Wis., i., 272, 276.

Block House at the time. The delay enabled them to get ready for a desperate resistance, and the warriors, after capturing the horses of the slain, made off, without daring to assault the fort.

To follow up the events of this war: The army had moved up as far as Fort Atkinson. Getting short of provisions, Col. Dodge, with several companies, was sent to Fort Winnebago for supplies. On his return, he struck off towards the Rock river rapids, in order, if possible, to get scent of the Indians. He struck on their trail east of the Crawfish, and immediately gave chase. He followed directly west, crossing the Catfish near where the present bridge stands, on the eastern confines of Madison, thence over the hill, and across the ground now occupied by the capitol and public square. At the head of Fourth Lake he found an encampment they had left not many hours previous. Pushing on some eight or ten miles, they overtook and killed an Indian,* and at the crossing a little below Sauk Prairie, they came up with the main body. A battle immediately took place, in which fifteen Indians and one white man were killed, and numbers on both sides wounded. The battle of Bad Axe and surrender of Black Hawk, soon after closed the war.

In these details we have confined ourselves as nearly as possible to occurrences within the limits of Dane county. Our friend Brigham claims nothing on the score of military service, although taking an active part in the "rough and tumble" of the times. In 1836 the territory of Wisconsin was organized, embracing the present State of Iowa, and the north-west territory. He was

*George Force, one of the garrison who was massacred, had a heavy gold watch, by which the hours of standing guard were regulated. At the time he was killed it was in his pocket, and was taken—his body and limbs being chopped in pieces, and scattered about on the prairie. A short time after the fight at the ferry, Wallis Rowan, who was a trader residing at the head of Fourth Lake, was out on the trail, and picked up five or six Indian saddles, the horse having given out in the retreat. On coming up to the body of this savage, he found the prairie fire had passed over it, consuming his pack and clothing. The watch of Force was found in the ashes, and identified by Mr. Brigham a day or two after. Rowan kept the watch over ten years before finally parting with it.

elected a member of the first council—the session being first held at Belmont, and the second one at Burlington, Iowa. The district at that time consisted of the territory embraced in the present counties of Grant, Iowa, Lafayette, Green, and part of Dane. He was re-elected to the same office in '38, and held four years. The district then consisted of the counties of Dane, Green, Jefferson, Dodge and Sauk. His last election to the legislature, was at the first session under the state constitution—the district being some dozen or sixteen towns.

In the twenty odd years of Mr. B.'s residence in this region, what wonderful changes have passed before him! For several years after his coming, the savages were sole lords of the soil. A large Indian village stood near the mouth of Token Creek; another stood on the ridge between Second and Third Lake, in plain view of our present location; and their wigwams were scattered all along the streams, the remains of their garden, &c. being still visible. Then there was not a civilized village in the state, of any considerable size. When the capitol was located here, he was the nearest settler to it—twenty-four miles distant! He stood on this ground before its selection as the seat of government was thought of, and from the enchanting beauty of the spot predicted that a village would be built here. Fort Winnebago was commenced in 1828, under the superintendence of Maj. Twiggs and Col. Harney, and the protection it afforded greatly promoted and extended immigration. The in-rolling flood has now reached 300,000—hundreds of villages have sprung up—and every thing has changed. From being himself the sole population of Dane, he now counts but one in 16,000. Nothing remains of the Indians but their graves. He has seen a savage people pass off the stage, and a civilized one come upon it—and all with a rapidity which must appear to him like a dream.

We have thus imperfectly sketched some of the incidents in the life of the first settler in Dane, with a brief statement of some of the leading events which have passed in review before him. Although gray hairs cover his head, he still enjoys robust health,

and his straight form and elastic step show that age sits lightly upon him. We are inclined to attribute his exemption from the common ills of life to the fact, that he never sought an office, or sent a hungry man from his door without food. He has a large fund of valuable local history, with anecdotes of "lang syne" worthy of being preserved for future times. Altogether he is a noble specimen of the gentleman of the olden time, with a reputation as favorably as it is widely known. The people of this county without distinction of party, we know will all unite with us in wishing him many years yet of health, prosperity, and happiness.

Madison, Nov. 20, 1849.

Sketch of Calumet County

By Thomas Cammuck, of the Brothertown Indians

Although the history of Calumet county may be found less interesting than that of her more wealthy sisters throughout our young, flourishing and prosperous State, yet, such as it is, I very cheerfully communicate to you.

I think it was not until the year 1840, that Calumet county was first set off, and organized for judicial purposes.* Previous to that time, what now constitutes Calumet, was recognized as a part of Brown county, and was first taken possession of by the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians; two or three families of each of those tribes having removed there in the winter of 1834. It was then a dense forest of very heavy timber, and the only roads or improvement of any kind, then existing within the present limits of Calumet, were a few Menomonee Indian trails. About the year 1836, a white man by the name of Westfall settled in the northern part of what is now Calumet, and pretended to keep a

*Calumet county was set off from Brown county, Dec. 7, 1836, organized for county purposes, Jan. 6, 1840, and on the following 13th August, was disorganized, and attached to Brown. It was re-organized for county purposes, Feb. 18, 1842, remaining in judicial connection with Brown until the formation of Fond du Lac county, Jan. 22, 1844, to which it was attached for judicial purposes. It was at length fully organized, Feb. 5, 1850.—*Hunt's Gazetteer.*

tavern on the military road leading from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago, which road was commenced about that time. But such a tavern! The writer of this sketch well remembers the time when he called at the aforesaid tavern, drenched with cold rain, and asking for breakfast for himself, and baiting of some kind for his horse, but unfortunately could obtain neither. The landlord had gone to Green Bay, a distance of nearly twenty-five miles, for the purpose of procuring and bringing home a back-load of provisions. I think I can safely say, that these were times, that not only "tried men's souls," but their appetites also.

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians continued to emigrate yearly from the State of New York, and joined their friends in Calumet county; and up to 1840, the county contained about 230 Stockbridge, and about 300 Brothertown Indians, and only about three whites—to wit: the tavern keeper before alluded to, the Rev. Cutting Marsh, a missionary among the Stockbridge Indians, and Moody Mann,* a mill-wright, who superintended the erection of the first grist and saw mill in our county for the Brothertown Indians. Similar mills were built by the Stockbridge Indians, or rather by Daniel Whitney, by their consent, having been erected upon their lands. All these mills were built about 1836–37, and for several years after their erection, the people of Oshkosh, on the west side of Winnebago Lake, got all their milling done at these mills, as did also the people of Fond du Lac, and a large number of inhabitants from the north-eastern portion of Fond du Lac county get their milling done to this day at the Brothertown Indian mills. About two years ago, there was another saw-mill built, in what is called *Kill Snake Settlement,* by William Urmston, about fourteen miles north-east of the Brothertown mills; and this spring I have learned that another saw mill has just been put in operation in Charlestown, about twelve miles easterly from the Brothertown mills. There is yet another saw-mill in our county, built two or three years ago, but it does not do much business.

*Hon. Moody Mann, Judge of Calumet county, died in that county, in Dec., 1854. L. C. D.

In the year 1839, the Brothertown Indians petitioned Congress for citizenship, which was granted, and they are now enjoying all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens of the United States, and the State of Wisconsin. In 1843, the Stockbridge Indians also petitioned for citizenship, and were likewise admitted; but a portion of them remonstrated from the out-set, and finally succeeded in shirking out; and, since that time, those who desired and embraced citizenship have sent a delegation to Washington to get set back again as Indians, and it is said they have agreed to emigrate west of the Mississippi.

The census of Calumet county in 1850, gave 1746 inhabitants, of whom about two hundred and fifty were Stockbridge, and four hundred Brothertown Indians. For several years past, much prejudice has existed abroad with regard to this county and its inhabitants; the former was believed to be too cold to permit the growth of ordinary crops, and the latter deemed as poor degraded savages, destitute of the common comforts of civilization, and without any principles of morality, and people scarcely dared to pass through our county, for fear of being scalped. But since they have learned that the Indians are an agricultural, mechanical and manufacturing people, that they live, dress and talk like other "human critters," (having entirely lost their language, the Brothertowns in particular,) that they have their own common schools in operation, public officers, churches and preachers, and the fact that travelers frequently get nearly through the town without being aware of it, and then enquire how far it is to Brothertown,—I say, since the people are beginning to become acquainted with these facts, they begin to entertain a little more respect for Calumet county and her population.

Yes, sir, the time has been when Calumet county was considered to be the very sink-hole of vice and iniquity, and acting upon that belief in some instances, horse-thieves and gamblers have sought to obtain a shelter here from the iron clutches of the law; but when they have found the Indians ready and willing to turn

out *en masse,* and surround and search houses in the dead of night where it was supposed these kind of gentry were concealed, they have generally made extremely short visits, being both ocularly and mentally convinced that our county was a very unsafe asylum for persons of their stamp.

For the last six months or more there has been a constant tide of emigration setting into our county. Scarcely a day, or week, at least, passes, but teams are seen passing into our county loaded with goods and families, and I should not be surprised if Calumet doubled her population in one year from this time.

It may be interesting to know, that the first steamboat that ever graced the crystal bosom of Lake Winnebago, was built in our county by the Brothertown Indians, under the superintendence of Peter Hoteling, who was a white man, and the captain of said boat. She was called the Manchester, and is still running on the lake under the name, I think, of the Fountain City. We have obtained a charter for a plank-road from Manchester to Sheboygan, a distance of thirty-five miles, which will pass through one of the finest portions of the state, in regard to the fertility of its soil, its water power, and its lofty groves of pine and other timber for lumbering purposes. Calumet county is about sixteen by twenty-five miles in size.

Manchester, April 29, 1851.

Sketch of Richland County

By Ira S. Haseltine, Esq.

In accordance with the request of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, I have prepared this brief sketch of Richland county:

This county was organized for judicial purposes May 1st, 1850, and now forms part of the fifth judicial circuit. It has an area of sixteen sectional townships in a square form, with also some fractional townships upon the Wisconsin river, which constitutes its southern boundary. It has four very considerable mill streams running from the north to the south through the county, and emptying into the Wisconsin. These streams are, Bear Creek in the eastern part of the county, Pine river running through the central portion, Eagle creek more westerly, and Knapp's creek in the extreme western part of the county. These several streams, with their numerous tributaries, abundantly supply all parts of the county with the best of water, which is almost invariably soft. Fishes of different kinds, including pike, pickerel, catfish, mullet, succors, and the speckled trout, are found in great abundance.

Richland county has a plenty of the best timber of various kinds, to wit: maple, ash, elm, oak, basswood, butternut, walnut, and some beautiful groves of pine and poplar. The face of the country is diversified by hills and valleys, with numerous springs of

pure soft water. There are some very pretty prairies, surrounded by groves of heavy timber. Some lead and copper ore have been discovered in the southern part of the county, and an extensive marble quarry has been opened in the valley of Bear creek. All the stone is to be found in quarries, and none scattered promiscuously upon the surface of the soil. There are many large tracts of well-watered and rich land in this county—hence the appropriateness of its name, *Richland.*

Of natural curiosities, perhaps there is in the whole western country none greater, than the *Natural Bridge* over Pine river. It is of rock, from forty to sixty feet high, and over half a mile in length, extending into a level country, with a beautiful arch sufficiently large for the passage of the waters of Pine river, even in times of flood. This rock-bridge is perfectly solid for thirty feet above the water, and covered on the top with a beautiful grove of thrifty pine. The rock is a species of sand stone, about four rods wide, and its sides perpendicular the whole length. It forms a great natural water power, and shelter for man and beast. The Indians, it is related, used to assemble here in great numbers, to worship. The chief or principal speaker usually stood upon the top of the rock, while his audience remained below. Another very considerable curiosity in our county, is the *Warm Cave,* which sends forth a warm current of air at all seasons of the year.

This county is settling very rapidly by an intelligent and enterprising population, almost wholly Americans.* Its agricultural, mineral and lumbering resources, together with its proximity to an extensive mining country, and its facilities for market, form

*A writer in a recent number of the Platteville American, who signs himself "An Old Pioneer," says that he explored, in 1848, the wild parts of Sauk and Richland counties, in the latter of which scarcely a section of land had been entered, although it had been in market four or five years. The entire population of Richland county did not exceed a dozen families numbering thirty souls, who were mostly composed of the sons of Nimrod who had retired from the busy haunts of men to pursue the chase, and enjoy the charms of solitude. Richland City was founded by Isaac H. Wallace, who erected the first log cabin there late in the autumn of 1848. The population of the county, which was 903 in 1850, is now estimated at 3,000.

L. C. D.

great inducements to settlement and cultivation. There are several thriving villages already teeming with life and animation. Among them may be mentioned Richland City, situated at the mouth of a very pretty stream called Willow Creek; and seven miles still higher up on Pine, is the new county seat, Richland Center, situated on a beautiful prairie with scattering shade trees, and the whole surrounded by noble groves of thrifty timber. At this place is an excellent water power, and mills are now in process of erection. This promising town is just springing into vigorous life and activity. Richmond, the former county-seat, is also a pretty village, situated on the Wisconsin river.

Richland Center, Dec. 15, 1852.

Wisconsin Geographical Names

By Alfred Brunson

To the Cor. Sec. of the Wisconsin Historical Society:

The object of forming the Historical Society of Wisconsin, is to gather materials for the formation of a correct history of the State, and to preserve from oblivion such incidents, names, &c., as will be of use in compiling such a history. And to aid in the accomplishment of this design, in one particular, I respectfully suggest the propriety of collecting the original Indian and French names of the State, of counties, towns, rivers, lakes and mountains, and attach to each the signification in English; and also the derivation of all purely English names.

That my design may be understood, and at the same time to contribute my limited knowledge in this matter, I will give a list as far as they now occur to mind; and at the same time request such corrections and additions as may be necessary to perfect it.

If editors, and others, who live on the spot, and have the means of reliable information, will take some pains to correct any errors in this, and to enlarge the number of names, and publish them, an accurate vocabulary of names may be obtained, of which the future historian may avail himself, to the interest and edification of the reader.

In doing this, I would suggest the propriety of giving the name

of the *Tribe* of Indians, from whose language the Indian name of a place or a thing is derived, if known. The importance of this distinction will be seen in the sequel, and from the fact that the same thing is differently named by different tribes; and in the different languages, tongues or dialects of the Indians, slight variations in sound may have given rise to different spellings, and hence an apparently different name, while, in fact the same name is intended. For instance, *Manitowoc,* is from the Chippewa, or Ojibowa,* should be *Munedoo*—a general name of *spirit.* The prefix or termination gives the *kind* of spirit intended. Munedoo-*ish* means Devil, or Evil Spirit, in Ojibowa. *Owkesha-munedoo* is God, or Good Spirit. *Woc* may be intended for *owk,* and *munito* may be intended for *munedoo,* and if so, *Munedoo-owk* alias Manitowoc, when applied to the Islands in Lake Michigan, or the river emptying into it, probably signifies the habitation of the Good Spirit. The perversion or corruption of the word may be from the imperfect understanding, or imperfect orthography of the white man of the Indian language, or it may have been derived from the Menomonee, or some other tribe of Indians, who use the word a little differently from the Ojibowas.

I am not an Ojibowa scholar, but have a work by Peter Jones, a celebrated missionary, from which I derive the above orthography of the word, but if I am not right, will some one be so good as to put me so.

But to the general list of names; and first of the State. The State derives its name from the principal river which runs centrally through it. The Chippewas upon its head waters call this river *Wees-konsan* which signifies "the gathering of the waters." They gave it this name, as an Indian trader informed me, on account of its numerous branches near its head concentrating into one stream, which afterwards runs so great a distance with but comparatively few principal branches to swell its current. The French

*Dr. Morse, in his Report of his Indian Tour of 1820, speaks of "an old Ottowa chief living at *Ma-nit-ou-wauk—the river of bad spirits.*" See the definition in the following paper, by Mr. Hathaway. L. C. D.

voyager called it *Ouisconsin,* the first syllable of which comes nearer to the sound of the Indian than does Wis. The second syllable of the French, if you give the *c* its hard sound, is more like *kon* than *con*; but the last syllable (sin) is evidently a deviation from the Indian both in the English and French. An attempt was made, a few years since, to restore the second syllable of this name to its original Indian sound by substituting *k* for *c,* but this would not restore either the first or the last. The attempt, however, was unpopular, and the Legislature solemnly decreed that the name should be spelled *Wisconsin,* and this, probably more from opposition to the individual who attempted the restoration, than from correct literary taste, or any regard for the original Indian name.

Of Counties

Adams.—Named in honor of President Adams.

Brown.—In honor of Gen. Brown of the U. S. Army.

Crawford.—In honor of W. H. Crawford, Sec. of U. S. Treas.

Columbia.—From Columbus.

Calumet.—Indian—pipe of peace; the name said to have been given to the place on account of the different tribes frequently holding peace councils there, when they smoke the *Calumet* or pipe of peace.

Chippewa—From the river of that name—Indian, Ojibowa. Several bands of this tribe settled on its head waters, to which they fought their way, about 120 years since, from Lake Superior, against the Dacotah or Sioux, and gave their name to the river in honor of their victory.

Dane.—In honor of the author of the ordinance of 1787.

Dodge.—In honor of Gov. Dodge.

Fond du Lac.—The head or fountain of the Lake—Winnebago. The same name is also given to the head of Lake Superior.

Grant.—From the river which took its name from one Grant, a trapper, who had his cabin on its bank.

Greene.—In honor of Gen. Greene, of the Revolution.

Iowa.—From an Indian tribe who once inhabited the country.

Jefferson.—In honor of President Jefferson.

Lafayette.—In honor of Gen. Lafayette.

La Pointe.—From the point of Magdalene Island in Lake Superior, on which a trading post and village are situated.

Marquette.—In honor of the French discoverer of the country.

Milwaukee.—From the river of that name. It is Indian.—[Will some Milwaukeean give the meaning?]

Portage.—This county took its name originally, from the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. But when the county was divided, the representative from it, hailing from the north part of it, with a view, it is said, to keep the record books, and thereby save a few dollars in the purchase of new ones, managed to retain the *name* for the north part of it, in which is *Plover Portage,* calling the south part *Columbia.*

Racine.—From the French name of the Root or principal river in it. [Will some citizen there tell us what *root* was so abundant upon it as to give it the name?]

Richland.—So called on account of the richness of the soil.

Rock.—From Rock prairie within its limits; and this from a large rock located on it.

Sheboygan.—From its principal river. [Will some one tell us what the word means?]

St. Croix.—The holy cross—the name given to the lake and river upon which it borders, by the French missionaries, because it enters the Mississippi nearly at right angles, and because the waters of it when high, are of a dark red color, being stained by the roots of the tamarack which abound in its head branches.

Sauk.—From Sauk Prairie within its limits, which took its name from the Sauk Indians, who once had their principal village upon it.

Washington.—In honor of Gen. Washington.

Waukesha.—From the Indian name of its principal river. It signifies Fox, probably from the number of foxes taken upon it.—[Is it Menomonee, Potawotome, or what?]

Winnebago.—From the lake of that name, which took its name from the Indian tribe.

Walworth.—In honor of Chancellor Walworth.

Of Places, Lakes, Rivers, and Mountains

Prairie du Chien—Dog's Prairie—From a Sauk chief of that name who had his village on it when first visited by the French voyagers.

Prairie La Crosse—From the French name of "ball club," crooked or hooked at the end. When the French first visited the country, the neighboring tribes were in the habit every summer of meeting on this prairie for their annual ball play. At these games each tribe took a side, and often staked all they had at command.

Mont-trempe-l'eau—The mountain that stands in the water. It rises in the form of an oval cone or natural pyramid, from a base 80 rods long by 40 wide, to about 300 feet high, and is entirely surrounded by water. It contains an extensive den of yellow rattlesnakes, from which they swim in the spring, and to which they return in the same way in the fall.

Lac Flambeau—Torch Lake. A collection of five small lakes, of from three to five miles in length, and from twenty rods to half a mile in width. On these lakes a band of Chippewas settled, about 120 years ago, to which they fought their way against the Sioux on one hand, and the Sauks and Foxes on the other. The lakes abounded in fish, which were taken by torch light, from which the French traders gave it the name of *Lac Flambeau.*

Lac Courteoreille—Short Ears.—It is said that when the French traders first visited this lake called *Ottawa,* a band of Ottawas occupied its banks, who had cut the rims off their ears, making them short; from which the Indians, their lake, and the river running from it into the Chippewa, received this singular name.

Mountain of the Stars—A natural mound some thirty miles in circumference, and several hundred feet high; from its base and sides the Black river flows to the south, L'eau Claire and Yellow rivers—branches of the Chippewa—to the west, and two branches

of the Wisconsin river to the east. It is said to be covered with pine timber, and its rocks and sands to abound in indications of copper, or some richer ore. The Indian name is not recollected, but signifies the Mountain of the Stars, and was so called by them on account of its lofty peaks.

I shall continue to collect these names and their origin, and if others, and especially editors, will do the same and publish them, the historical object contemplated will be accomplished. The above is yet imperfect, and is open to amendments and corrections; and it is but a small portion of the names worthy of collection and preservation.

Prairie du Chien, June 11th, 1849.

Indian Names

By Joshua Hathaway, Esq.

To the Cor. Sec. of the Wisconsin Historical Society:

Following the suggestion of Mr. Brunson in his interesting communication to your Society of the 11th ultimo, I propose to contribute a portion of the aboriginal names of places and rivers in our State, with their signification, when known, and their present corruption in spelling and pronunciation.

Much of the corruption in the pronunciation of Indian names, has arisen from the want of a simple mode of spelling, and from an inaccurate habit of pronouncing words, when correctly spelled. Thus, in orthography, the sounds au, ahn, ee, are incorrectly expressed by a, an, and e; and the orthography au, ahn and ee, is inaccurately pronounced by a, an and e, or y—for example, *Waukee-shah,* is incorrectly spelled *Wakesha,* and inaccurately pronounced, (though very commonly,) *Walkyshaw.*

One more suggestion: When the double vowel ee occurs in the orthography of an Indian word, the syllable should have a thin, prolonged accent, more especially when it forms the middle syllable.

Milwaukee, or *Milouaqui,* of the early French settlers, is derived from the Indian name of our own river, *Mahn-a-wau-kee* seepe, first and third syllables accented. The word is Pottawattamie probably; and the early French traders gave different significations to it, so that no one of them is reliable.

Sheboygan, or *Che-boig-an* of the early maps, is from the Indian name, *Shawb-wa-way-kum,* half accent on the first, and full accent on the third syllable; the word or sentence (most likely Chippewa) expresses a tradition "that a great noise, coming under ground from the region of Lake Superior, was heard at this river."

Manitou-woc, or *Devil's den.*—The tradition of the Indians is, that a nondescript being was several times observed at the mouth of this river; hence its name.

Ne-sho-tah, or *Twins,* now known as Two Rivers. A glance at the place, or at the map, shows how appropriate the name.

Ke-wau-nee River, on Lake Michigan, east of the head of Green Bay, signifies *Prairie Hen.* It was formerly known as Wood's river in the sketch maps; please give to the writer the credit of ascertaining and restoring this euphonious name by his Field Notes in 1834. Kewaunee is doubtless a Chippeway word—accent on second syllable.

The next and only river of any magnitude, north of the last mentioned, is the

Muk-wan-wish-ta-guon—accent on first and third, and half accent on last syllable. Muk-wan signifies *Bear*—the whole, *Bear's Head.* The present settlers in that region are striving to substitute the name Wolf River; bad success to them—we prefer a bear's head to a whole wolf.

Mus-kee-go, from *Muskeeguiac,* signifies *Cranberry*—probably, Pottawattamie.

Waukeeshah, the name given to the county wrested from Milwaukee in 1846. As the county was appropriated without the consent of the owners, so it was very proper that the name should be. It is very probable that this name was never seen in English characters until the year 1846, when it was inscribed, by the writer of this, upon an oak tree, standing where the town of Rochester now stands, in Racine county. The name was selected by me with the consent of Messrs. Cox and Myers, all being interested in the location, as a name for the future town, and it so appears on the sectional maps of those times. When the town began to

be settled shortly after, the name was changed by the inhabitants to Rochester, because, like the Rochester of New York, it had a water power—no further point of resemblance being traceable. In 1836–37, I was engaged in sub-dividing the townships now comprising Racine county, and from some Indian boys lodged near my encampments, I made additions to my Indian vocabulary; and with the medium of a fox-skin collar, I obtained this name, understanding it to be Pottawattamie for "Fox," which is a favorite name with the natives for all crooked rivers, whose course, in this respect, resembles the eccentric trail of that animal. By giving the middle syllable a thin, prolonged, decided accent, and leaving the last syllable but half aspirated, you have the original as given to me—Wau-*kee*-shah.

Me-quon-i-go, from Me-quan-i-go ick, likewise the name of the town. Mic-wan signifies a *ladle*—a bend in each stream known by that name resembling a ladle, seems to have given the name. That the resemblance may be detected, it may be well to remark, that the Indian ladle is a very crooked utensil, with the handle turned quite over the bowl.

Kosh-ko-nong, or more properly, Kosh-kaw-a-nong, (third syllable unaccented,) signifying "the lake we live on," was for many weeks, the lurking-place of the families of Black Hawk's warriors, in the troubles of 1832.

Wau-pee-ty-seepe, or Tooth River, a tributary of the Wisconsin above Grand Rapids. *Wau-pee-ty* (full accent on first, and half accent on second syllable,) signifies *tooth*—Chippewa probably.

Des Plaines River, in Racine county, or more properly, River aux Plaines, named by the French, signifies, *soft maple.*

Oconomewoc, Scupernong, Pewaukie, Oshkosh, Taycheedah, Wauwatoosah, Techora, Kaukulan, and a host of other musical names remain, to invite the elucidation of contributors, among whom I hope to see the names of Governor Doty and Mr. Ellis.

Milwaukee, July 10, 1849.

Indian Nomenclature, and the Chippewas

By Hiram Calkins, Esq., of Wausau

Being personally unacquainted with the language of the Chippewas, and consequently their customs, I have taken some pains to procure the information desired by the Historical Society. I first applied by letter, and then in person, to Mr. William Cross, who resides in the northern part of this county, and from him have derived the necessary data to enable me to make up the narrative I now communicate. For want of time, he could not give all the information desired by the Society, but he assured me that he will pursue the subject still further, if requested to do so. I think Mr. Cross has the ability to give as correct information as can be obtained relative to the traditions and customs of the Chippewa tribe, having been many years among them, and enjoying in a high degree their respect and confidence; and being a good scholar beside, is able to communicate correctly.

Indian curiosities, such as wampum, drums, medals, pipes of peace, war-dresses, medicine bags, &c., Mr. Cross informs me cannot be procured, except by purchase, as they consider them sacred things, and place a high estimate upon them. Should any of these articles be desired by the Society, I will endeavor to procure them when instructed to do so.

I will now proceed to give a list of the Chippewa names, with their significations, of the tributary streams of the Wisconsin river, from the Forks down to Point Bas, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles by land, and about two hundred by the river. Of the Chippewa terminations *Se-be* or *Se-pee* and *We-shance,* the former signifies *river,* and the latter *creek.*

Ma-na-to-kik-e-we-Se-be—Stooping Spirit River.

Skan-a-wong-Se-be-we-shance—The creek that runs through bluffs.

Shin-gwack-Se-be-we-shance—Little Pine Creek.

Mush-ko-da-wun-Se-be-we-shance—Little Prairie Creek.

Os-ka-ki-ra-jaw-Se-be—New Wood River.

Pe-qua-bik-au-Se-be—Rocky River, better known as *Copper River.*

Pau-gaw-do-waj-Se-be-we-shance—Ball Play Creek, now known as *Devil Creek.*

Mush-ko-day-yaw-Se-be—Prairie River.

Shin-gwack-Se-be—Pine River.

Tah-so-so-win-ing-Se-be—Dead Fall River, now known as *Trap River.*

O-pic-wun-a-Se-be—Rib River.

Wah-yaw-con-ut-ta-gua-yaw-Se-be—Clear Water River, now known as *Eau Claire.*

She-sheg-e-ma-we-she-can-Se-be—Soft Maple River, now known as *Eau Pleine,* or Full Water.

Ma-no-min-a-kung-a-kuay-Se-be—Rice Stalks River, now known as *Little Eau Pleine.*

Au-puh-ki-ra-kan-e-we-Se-be—River of Flags, now known as *Plover River.*

Wau-pee-tee-Se-be—Tooth River, now known as *Mill Creek.*

There are several rapids and falls on the Wisconsin river, with most of which the Indians have some superstitious notions associated. The first is a small rapid just below the Forks of the Wisconsin, called by the Chippewas Wa-bo je-wun, or Narrow Falls, indicative of their character. The next are the "Brear-beaux,"

or Grand Father Bull Falls, which are the largest on the Wisconsin, and are called by the Indians Ko-na-je-wun, which signifies the Long Falls. These falls are two miles in length, having three perpendicular falls of several feet each in that distance. There is said to be one hundred feet fall in these three successive rapids. They were never run by the whites, and but one instance is known among the Indians of any of their people having passed them in safety. The Indians have a tradition, that there is a great spirit that presides over these falls, to which they make an appropriate offering. A portage passes around the falls on the west side of the river, where the Indians carry their canoes on their heads for a mile and a half. About midway on the portage is a solitary rock, about ten feet in circumference at the base, and about four feet high, in the shape of a cone or sugar-loaf, on which the Indians make an offering of tobacco. This offering, it is said, is preserved by the spirit until an Indian passes along destitute of tobacco, when it is given to him.

In 1849, these falls were navigated, in a bark canoe, for the first and last time by two Indians—the Black Nail and the Crow. At the head of the falls before starting, Crow held the canoe by a rock projecting from the shore, while Black Nail made a prayer and an offering to the spirit of the falls. The offering consisted of two yards of scarlet broad cloth, and a brass kettle. The prayer was in these words: "O Great Spirit of the Falls! I implore thee to extend thy protecting arm over us as we run these mighty waters. Mayest thou strengthen my arm and my paddle to guide my canoe safely down these dangerous waters. I do not implore thy protection for nothing; I give thee two yards of scarlet, and a brass kettle!" Having finished his prayer, he threw the offering overboard, and grappled his paddle, and the canoe went bounding over the billows, and ran the falls in safety.

Chippewa names of falls or rapids on the Wisconsin:

Sa-se-je-wun—Falls or rapids.

O-ska-kwa-yaw—New Wood rapids.

Mush-ko-da-yaw—Prairie rapids, now known as *Jenny Bull.*

Nah-ba-na-sa-se-je-wun—One-sided rapids, now called *Trap Rapids.*

Pah-je-tak-a-ke-ning-a-ning—The water that falls over rocks, now known as *Big Bull Falls.*

Oh-ka-kan-dah-go-kag—Spruce falls, now known as *Little Bull Falls.*

Mis-qua-wauk-sa se-je-wun—Red cedar rapids, now known as *Conant's Rapids.*

Ah-da-wa-gam—Two sided rapids, now known as *Grant's Rapids.*

Bun-gah je-wim—End of the rapids, now called *Whitney Rapids,* which are the last on the Wisconsin.

Chippewa names of towns or villages on the Wisconsin:

Mush-ko-da-yaw-Tosh-ko-bo-je-gun—Jenny Bull Falls.

Pah-je-tak-a-ke-ning-a-ning—Big Bull Falls, now called Wausau.

Wah yaw-con-ut ta-gua yaw—Eau Claire Mills.

Oh-ka kan-go kag—Little Bull Mills.

Nay-osh-ing—The Point, now known as *Du Bay's Trading Post.*

Kah-kag-e-winch-e-min-it-e-gong—Hemlock Island. This name is applied to *Steven's Point,* on account of an island in the Wisconsin opposite to the village, covered with hemlock, which is a rare growth in that region.

Mush-ko-da-ny—Plover, the county seat of Portage county. The meaning of this Chippewa name is "Prairie," given on account of the prairie-like country around it. The trail dividing the Chippewa and Menomonee lands runs through this town. Here the two tribes of Indians have been accustomed to make the portage from the Wisconsin to Wolf river, by carrying their canoes on their heads; the distance across being about eight miles. This poratge is called by the Chippewas Wah-bau-ga O-ning-ah-ming, meaning the *Eastern Portage.* The termination O-ning-ah-ming, means *a portage.*

Ah-dah-wa-gam—Grand Rapids' Mills.

Ban-gah-je-wung—Point Bas.

O-ning-ah-ming—Portage city. This place is named from the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.

Mo-nung-wah-na-can-ing—This name is applied to La Pointe, on Lake Superior, and signifies *Yellow Wood-pecker,* and was given on account of the great abundance of those birds on the island on which La Pointe is situated.

The Chippewas in Wisconsin are divided into sixteen clans or bands, numbering about four thousand persons altogether. Each of those bands is governed by a chief, and each has a head-brave or war captain, who leads in war; a chief orator, who speaks for the chief; and a chief medicine man, who is regarded by the Indians as gifted with the spirit of prophesy. Great confidence is placed in the chief medicine man, as his services are required on all eventful occasions.

The Wisconsin river band numbers about two hundred Indians, and occupies the country from the Grand Rapids up to Tommy-Hawk Lake. The Head Chief of this band is Osh-ka-ba-wis, or *The Messenger;* the Head Brave is Ka-kac-o-na-yosh, or *The Sparrow Hawk;* the Chief Orator is Now-o-com-ick, or *The Centre of the Earth;* and the Chief Medicine Man or Conjuror, is Mah-ca-da-o-gung-a, or *The Black Nail,* who performed the feat of descending the Long Falls in his canoe, and is represented by the other Indians as being a great Medicine Man. He is always called upon, far and near, in cases of sickness, or in the absence of relatives, to foretell whether the sickness will prove fatal, or whether the friends will return in safety, and at what time. He is also consulted by the Indians when they go out to hunt the bear, to foretell whether success will crown their efforts. Before performing these services, he is always paid by the Indians, with such articles as they have, which generally consist of tobacco, steel-traps, kettles, broad cloth, calico, and a variety of other commodities. He usually performs after dark, in a wigwam just large enough to admit of his standing erect. This lodge or wigwam is tightly covered with mats, so as entirely to exclude all light and the pry-

ing curiosity of all out-siders. Having no light within the lodge, the acts and utterances of the Medicine Man or Conjurer are regarded as mysterious, and credulously received by the wondering crowd surrounding the tent. He first prepares himself in his family wigwam by stripping off all his clothing, when he emerges singing, and the Indians outside join him in the song with their drums, and accompany him to the lodge, which he enters alone. Upon entering, the lodge commences shaking violently, which is supposed by the Indians outside, to be caused by the spirits.—The shaking of the lodge produces a great noise by the rattling of bells and deers' hoofs fastened to the poles of the lodge at the top, and, at the same time, three voices are distinctly heard intermingled with this noise. One is a very heavy hoarse voice, which the Indians are made to believe is that of the Great Spirit; another is a very fine voice, represented to be that of a *Small Spirit,* while the third is that of the Medicine Man himself. He pretends that the Great Spirit converses in the heavy voice to the lesser spirit, unintelligibly to the conjurer, and the lesser spirit interprets it to him, and he communicates the intelligence to his brethren without. The ceremony lasts about three hours, when he comes out, in a high state of perspiration, supposed by the superstitious Indians, to be produced by mental excitement.

The present chief of this band, Osh-ka-ba-wis, is a very sensible, intelligent Indian. He went to Washington during President Polk's administration, in company with other chiefs, to obtain redress for some grievances about their payments. They secured an appropriation of $6,000, but were cheated out of it by the interpreter who went with them, who having charge of the money, hid $5,000 of it, and soon after died, so that the Indians got only $1,000 of the amount.

Each of the other bands occupies a separate tract of country for hunting purposes. The Chippewas all belong to certain family tribes or totems. Those belonging to the same totem, are considered brothers and sisters, and consequently never marry.—These family totems or designations, are taken from some familiar

living object, such as the bear, the wild goose, fish, sand-hill crane, etc.—hence the bear clan or totem, and so of others. Almost every thing that inhabits land or water, is adopted by certain Indians as their totem, and some of the Indians belong to different clans or totems at the same time. These marks or totems descend from the father to the son. When a warrior goes to war and takes a scalp from the enemy, he sends or takes it to his family clan or totem, that they may dance over and around the trophy, and recite his deeds of valor. They call their family or tribal name *to-tame,* or *totem.*

The Chippewas have a singular custom about hunting the bear in winter. Journeying from place to place, whenever they camp after dark, the hunters all assemble in a wigwam by themselves, excluding the squaws and children. They generally assemble at the lodge of the chief Medicine Man of the camp, who presides over the ceremonies, which are commenced by beating on the medicine-drum, and singing a certain number of songs, which are sung only on these occasions. The chief Medicine Man sits in the middle of the lodge, with some broad cloth and calico spread before him, together with a stuffed cub bear-skin, while his pipe or calumet, already filled, is placed before him on two crotched sticks. He then addresses the bear in this wise: "O, my brother! we are very hungry; we are on the point of starving, and I wish you to have pity on us, and to-morrow when the young men go out to hunt you, I want you to show yourself. I know very well that you are concealed somewhere close by my camp here. I give you my pipe to smoke out of, and I wish you would have pity on us, and give us your body that we may eat and not starve." Having thus spoken, he takes the medicine-drum and beats on it, accompanying it with some songs that he recites from two small boards, on which they are written in hieroglyphics. When he gets through, he passes the drum and boards to the next Indian, and so on around, till all have sung and beaten the same thing. The performance generally lasts about four hours, when they retire to their several lodges. In the morning, the hunters all go to the medi-

cine bag of the chief Medicine Man, which is generally suspended from a small tree, and take from it some vermillion with which they paint themselves, and the noses of their dogs. Thus prepared, they start on the hunt in different directions, and being inspired with faith and goaded on by hunger, they are almost sure of success before night.

Other customs are observed by them, which also indicate the superstition of the Chippewas. I will notice that of the burial of their dead. When an Indian dies, they believe, as did their forefathers, that he has gone to better hunting-grounds, and has need only of so much provision as will be sufficient to carry him through the journey; and when there, that he is endowed with a benevolent spirit, and in order that he may exercise it, the Indians make frequent offerings of such articles as they can spare, by placing them at the head of the grave, when any destitute Indian coming along, and finding the offering, accepts it as a gift from the benevolent spirit of the dead.

July 10th, 1854.

Reminiscences of Wisconsin

By Alexander F. Pratt

No. 1.—The Judiciary of Wisconsin in 1837-38

The Territory of Wisconsin was organized in July, 1836. It was divided into three Judicial Districts. Judge Dunn was appointed for the Western District, Judge Irwin for the Middle, and Judge Frazier, of Pennsylvania, for the Eastern. Judge Frazier arrived in Milwaukee on a Sunday evening, in June, 1837. He put up at the small hotel which stood where "Dickerman's Block" now stands, which was called the * * * Tavern, kept by Mr. Vail. On his arrival, he fell in with some old Kentucky friends, who invited him to a private room, for the purpose of participating in an innocent game of *"poker."* The party consisted of the Judge, Col. Morton, Register of the Land Office, and two or three others—friends of the Judge. They commenced playing for small sums at first, but increased them as the hours passed, until the dawn of day, the next morning—when small sums seemed beneath their notice. The first approach of day was heralded to them by the ringing of the bell for breakfast. The Judge made a great many apologies, saying, among other things, that as that was his first appearance in the Territory, and as his court opened at 10 o'clock that morning, he must have a little

time to prepare a charge to the Grand Jury. He therefore hoped that they would excuse him, which they accordingly did, and he withdrew from the party. The court met at the appointed hour—Owen Aldrich acting as Sheriff, and Cyrus Hawley as Clerk. The Grand Jury was called and sworn. The Judge, with much dignity, commenced his charge; and never before did we hear such a charge poured forth from the bench! After charging them upon the laws generally, he alluded to the statute against gambling. The English language is too barren to describe his abhorrence of that crime. Among other extravagances, he said, that "a gambler was unfit for earth, heaven or hell," and that "God Almighty would even *shudder* at the sight of one."

At that time, we had but one session of the Legislature, which had adopted mostly the statutes of Michigan, which allowed the Court to exercise its discretion in granting *stays* of executions, &c. A suit came up against a man in the Second Ward, who had no counsel. The Judge ordered the crier to call the defendant. He did so, and the defendant appeared. The Judge asked him if he had anything to say against judgment being rendered against him. He replied, that he did not know that he had, as it was an honest debt, but that he was unable to pay it. The Judge inquired what his occupation was. He replied that he was a fisherman.—Says the Judge, "Can you pay it in fish?" The defendant answered, that "he did not know but he could, if he had time to catch them." The Judge turned to the clerk, and ordered him to "enter up a judgment, payable in fish, and grant a stay of execution for twelve months;" at the same time remarking to the defendant, that he must surely pay it at the time, and in *good* fish; for he would not be willing to wait so long for "stinking fish." The next suit worthy of note, was against Wm. M. Dennis, our present Bank Comptroller. He, like his predecessor, had no counsel. His name was called, and he soon made his appearance. He entered the Court-room, wearing his usual smile, whittling, with his knife in the left hand. The Court addressed him in a loud voice, "What are you grinning about, Mr. Dennis?" Mr.

D. replied, that he was not aware that he was laughing. The Court inquired if he proposed to offer any defence? He replied, that he did, but was not ready for trial. "No matter," said the Judge, "there's enough that are ready; the clerk will enter it 'continued.'" The next case, about which we recollect, was the trial of two Indians, who were indicted for murdering a man on Rock river. They were also indicted for an assault, with intent to kill, upon another man, at the same time. The trial for murder came off first. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. On the day following, they were tried for the assault, &c., found guilty, and sentenced to five years imprisonment, and to pay a fine of five hundred dollars each. Governor Dodge, however, deeming it too severe to fine and imprison a man after he was hanged, commuted it to imprisonment for life. The Indians were confined in a jail a year or two, but were finally pardoned by the Governor.

Judge Frazier soon afterwards went to Green Bay, and held a Court, from whence, for want of a jail in which to confine prisoners, he sentenced a man, for some trifling offence, "to be banished to Turkey river." After the Court adjourned, he returned to Milwaukee on the steamboat Pennsylvania. She anchored in the bay, and the Judge, who was dead drunk at the time, was lowered by means of a tackle, into a boat, and rowed to the landing, at Walker's Point. From the effect of this bacchanalian revel he never recovered. His friend, Col. Morton, took him to his own house, called to his aid our best physicians, and all was done that human skill could devise, for the restoration of his health; but it was too late; the seeds of death had been sown; he lingered in great distress for four or five days, and breathed his last.* The members of the Bar, generally, neglected to attend the funeral; and having no relatives in the State, he hardly received a decent burial. His remains were followed to their last resting place by only two members of the Bar (Messrs. Arnold and Crocker), be-

*Hon. William C. Frazier, Associate Judge for the Territory of Wisconsin, died at Milwaukee, Oct. 18th, 1838, aged sixty-two years.—*American Almanac*, 1840.

sides a few friends. They now remain in the old church-yard in the First ward, without even a *slab* to mark the spot.

The above sketch was written by us from memory, for the *Wisconsin,* last summer. We now re-publish it for the purpose of doing simple justice to the living, by adding that we have since learned that a son of Judge Frazier came to Milwaukee some years since, and had the remains of his father removed to the new church-yard in the Fifth Ward, and proper tombstones erected over them.

December 6, 1854.

No. 2.—Milwaukee and Solomon Juneau

Solomon Juneau was the first white settler in Milwaukee. He was a native of Canada, and immigrated to that place in the fall of 1818, and built him a log cabin among the natives. At that time his family consisted of a wife and one child. His nearest white neighbors were at Chicago, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. He kept a few goods suitable for the Indian trade, and for the first seventeen years he was not only the only merchant in the place, but the only white man. During that period, a few Indian traders were occasionally there, but not permanently located. In the spring of 1835, a land office having been previously established at Green Bay, this land was brought into market, and Mr. Juneau purchased a small tract consisting of about 130 acres, lying on the east side of the river, directly north of Wisconsin-street. Previous to this time, Geo. H. Walker, Esq., had come and made a claim on what is now called "Walker's Point," which he subsequently obtained a title to. Byron Kilbourn,

Esq., about that time purchased a tract on the west side of the river, which has from that time been known by the name of "Kilbourn Town." Daniel Wells, Jr., W. W. Gilman, Geo. D. Dousman, E. W. Edgerton, T. C. Dousman, Geo. O. Tiffany, D. H. Richards, William Brown, Jr., Milo Jones, Enoch Darling, and others immigrated about the same time, and made large purchases of lands. In the course of the summer of 1835, a number of good buildings were erected, and a great many eastern speculators came and bought lands at high prices. Mr. Juneau, about this time, sold an undivided interest in his lands to Morgan L. Martin. He built a fine dwelling-house on the lot where Mitchell's Banking-house now stands; also a large store and warehouse on what is now known as "Ludington's Corner." In 1836, when we came, he was doing a large business both in selling goods and lots. During that season, some two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of goods had been brought there to sell. Ground rent was nearly as high as it is now. A merchant with a stock of goods would arrive one day, and by the next day noon he would have a store completed to open in. Things were done on the California principle. They were usually built of rough boards with a "grass floor," and in several instances a blanket was hung up for a partition, and one-half of the tenement rented to another for a dollar a day. The town was flooded with speculators, and all made money until the non-residents left and navigation closed, when a sudden change "came o'er the spirit of their dreams."

The town was left with a large stock of goods, and but few inhabitants. Merchants and other business men enjoyed the winter in the best possible manner. During the fall quite a large number of actual settlers had arrived, of the right stamp, among whom was H. N. Wells, J. E. Arnold, Henry Williams, Hans Crocker, J. H. Tweedy, L. Blossom, J. W. Pixley, S. H. Martin, Geo. P. Delaplaine, Geo. Reed, Cyrus Hawley, Fred. Wardner, A. O. T. Breed, Eliphalet Cramer, Rufus Parks, Curtis Reed, Orson Reed, William M. Dennis, Truman L. Smith, Edmond D. Clinton, A. A. Bird, and many others, whom time will not allow us to mention.

All had been doing a "land office business," and had plenty of money left to winter on. At this time our old friend Juneau was supposed to be worth at least $100,000 with a fair prospect of its being doubled by the rise of land in the spring. We have often seen him in those days go into his store, after business hours were over, and take from the drawers the money that his clerks had received during the day for goods and lots, amounting often to 8 or 10,000 dollars, and put it loose in his hat; and upon one occasion we recollect of his hat being knocked off in a playful crowd, when some $10,000 flew in various directions. In short, money seemed to be of no earthly use to him. If a man called upon him to subscribe for either a public improvement or a charitable object, whatever was required he subscribed, without asking why or wherefore. In the meantime he had looked on and seen others get rich on the rise of property that he had sold, and he commenced buying back lots and paying thousands for those he had previously sold for hundreds. We recollect very well one circumstance; his re-purchasing the corner lot, near Youngs' Hall, for $3,700, which he had sold the year previous for $475. He was truly in the language of the poet, "The noblest work of God, an honest man." He had implicit confidence in every body.

The spring of 1837 disappointed all our anticipations. A general stagnation in business prevailed in all directions. Immigration had almost entirely fallen off. Our currency which was mostly of the Michigan "Wild Cat" stamp, was no longer a legal tender. There was no sale for real estate. The second payments were becoming due on purchases of real estate, and all who supposed themselves rich in lands, were not only destitute of money, but the means to raise it. Some who were able to hold on, kept their property until they could get a handsome advance; while the majority were compelled to sell for what they could get, and bankruptcy was the inevitable result.

At this time, there were but a few settlements in the interior; but the hard times which continued through the years 1837 and 1838, induced many to leave Milwaukee and locate a "claim."

The lands between Milwaukee and Rock River were then surveyed, but were not brought into market until the fall of 1839. During this time they had become thickly settled, and many of them quite valuable. The hard times at the East had led many to seek a home in the West; and in the fall of 1839, when these lands came into market, many of them had been so improved that they were worth from $10 to $100 an acre, while the occupants had not the first "red cent" to buy them with. Consequently, a large proportion of the settlers were compelled to sell their improvements for what they could get, or pay from 25 to 50 per cent. for money to enter their lands with.

About this time, Alex. Mitchell, Harvey Birchard, the Messrs. Ludingtons, E. Eldred and other capitalists came to Milwaukee, and purchased lots at $100 each, that had previously been sold from $1,000 to $1,500, and are now selling from $5,000 to $15,000 each. From that day to this, "the rise and progress" of Milwaukee has been steady and onward. The price of land has continued to advance with the increase of business, and nearly all who commenced in business there at that time, and continued to the present, have become wealthy and independent. In 1846, the Legislature passed an act to divide Milwaukee county, and establish the county of Waukesha; also another to incorporate the city of Milwaukee. At the first charter election in the new city, Solomon Juneau was elected Mayor, which was a well-merited compliment to the "old pioneer."

* * * * * * * *

Mr. Juneau, subsequently, left Milwaukee, and settled at the village of Theresa, in Dodge county, (the name of which should be changed to Juneau,) where he still resides. He has now a large family, and we learn, that by hard labor, he gets a comfortable living.

* * * * * * * *

We have spun this yarn much longer than we intended; but the name of "old Solomo," as the Indians used to call him, brings with it so many "sweet recollections of the past," that we could find no

stopping place until our sheet was full. A notice of him which we copied last week from the Green Bay *Advocate,* which stated that "Mr. Juneau left that place in 1830," has prompted us to correct that error,* and give this hasty sketch of a man who is truly one of Nature's Noblemen.

No. 3.—Sketch of Waukesha

Waukesha was originally called "Prairie Village." Afterwards, the Legislature changed it to "Prairieville;" and after the county was set off from Milwaukee, it was changed to Waukesha. The first white settlers were Messrs. M. D. and A. R. Cutler, John Manderville and —— Luther. They came here in the spring of 1834, not very long after the close of the "Black Hawk War." At that time the land had been purchased of the Indians; yet, in

*The editor of the *Green Bay Advocate*, Hon. C. D. Robinson, thus notices this sketch of the old pioneer of Milwaukee, and furnishes some additional facts relative to early Milwaukee settlers: "The *Waukesha Plaindealer* has a lengthy notice of Hon. Solomon Juneau, who, it says, was the first white settler in Milwaukee, and corrects our error in stating that he left here (Green Bay) some time about 1830. The brief article which we made at the time was penned without any definite knowledge of Mr. Juneau's early history, other than that we believed him to be the first settler of Milwaukee, and supposed, though erroneously, that he went there from Green Bay.

We were reminded by Mr. A. J. Vieau, of this place, that his father, Mr. Jas. Vieau, Sen., emigrated to and settled in Milwaukee some years before Mr. Juneau went there; and that before Mr. Vieau came, other white men had settled there. Mr. J. B. Beaubien, now of Chicago, had already been there some years before Mr. Vieau, and a Mr. Lafromboise, whose children now live in Chicago, was there some time before Mr. Beaubien.

These facts touch only the question, of course, as to the *first* white settler of Milwaukee. That Mr. Juneau is entitled to the credit of founding the city, and taking an active and honorable part in its early government, and in contributing in a very great degree to its prosperity, there is no doubt."

accordance with the Treaty, they remained in possession of it up to the summer of 1836, when it was surveyed by the General Government. The Messrs. Cutler built the first "log cabin" in this town in the year 1834. It was located near where Messrs. Blair & Smith's machine shop now stands. Mr. Manderville at that time made a "claim" on what is now the "school section." Mr. Luther claimed the land where Mr. Meyer now resides, on section 20, in this town. These were the only settlers who came here that year. At that time large tribes of Indians were located in this county. Their head quarters were at this place; yet their *wig-wams* were scattered up and down the Fox River, (or *Pish-ta-ka,* as they called it,) from Mukwonago to Pewaukee Lake; and for the first two or three years they were a great annoyance to the white settlers. There being no fences, the settlers' cattle would often get among the Indians' corn fields, and caused much trouble. The Indians being legally in possession of the land, and having the numbers and power to rule, would demand such damages as they saw fit; and upon one occasion claimed and received of the Messrs. Cutler a fat ox for the damage he had done their corn. In the spring of 1835, Mr. McMillan and family came and built a cabin where the Court House now stands. Mr. A. C. Nickell and Dr. Cornwall located on the south part of the farm now owned by Mr. Nickell. Mr. Ira Stewart located on what is now known as the "Cushman farm," and Messrs. Isaac and Richard Smart located where they now live. These were the only settlers who came that year.

During the summer and fall of 1836, Mr. —— Murray located on what is now William White's farm. Messrs. Nelson and Thos. H. Olin located on what is now known as the "Gale farm." Mr. Sergeant located on the west side of the river, near the water-power. Soon afterwards, this township was surveyed, when it seemed that the Messrs. Cutler, McMillan and Sergeant were all on one quarter section, where the village and mills are now located. This, for some length of time, was a bone of contention, all being anxious to "claim" the water-power. In the fall of that

year, Mr. Nathaniel Walton, with his family, located where they still reside, near this village. Up to this time, Mrs. McMillan was the only white woman in this part of the country; consequently there was no tea table gossip at that time. Mr. McMillan's cabin, which was about 16 by 24 feet, was the only public house in the place, and an interesting spot it was, too.

At that time we were located at Milwaukee, and came out here often. Upon one occasion, we stopped with twelve others at this hotel over night, there being but one room and two beds in the house. We have often seen the hogs occupy the inside of the house, and the whiskey barrel placed on the outside to make room. If a landlord, at that time, could raise a barrel of flour, pork and whiskey, it was all that was necessary for a "first-class hotel." In short, tavern keeping was more an act of necessity than choice with many, as the settlements were so few and far between that they were compelled to keep all travellers that came, regardless of their means of accommodation, as all preferred sleeping on a floor to a bed, or on a blanket in the open fields, as we were often compelled to do.

In the spring of 1837, we came here to look at a claim owned by Mr. Cutler, which he had then recently purchased of Mr. Luther for five hundred dollars. We stopped with Mr. Walton, who at that time kept the best house. In the morning we started on foot, in company with Mr. M. D. Cutler, to view the "claim" —a distance of about four miles. When we came to the river, which at that time was nearly two feet deep, Mr. C. commenced fording it. We backed out, and proposed to return to the hotel for our pony; but Mr. C. insisted on our trying our pedestrian powers in the water, and after spending some time in consultation, he supplied the place of our pony, and carried us safe through the river. Upon arriving at the "claim," we found it to be "all our fancy painted," and we soon closed a bargain for it at $1,000, paying in four (paper) city lots, at $250 each.

Previous to this time, Mr. Orrin Brown had come and located on the quarter section where the "Stone Quarry" is; and Mr.

Manderville having found himself, after the survey, on the school section, located on the quarter section that Mr. A. Minor now lives on. In the course of that season, Messrs. E. D. Clinton, Z. Bidwell, Henry Bowron, James Y. Watson, J. M. Wells, J. Rice, J. W. Rossman, E. Churchill, Ezra Mendall, Joel Bidwell, Daniel Thompson, Robert Love, Moses Ordway, Sabina Barney, Asa S. Watson, and Peter N. Cushman, located on different claims in this town. This comprised the whole settlement here, in the year 1837.

In the spring of 1838, several new settlers immigrated. Among them were H. N. Davis, James Buckner, Charles Crownheart, Ira Doliver, B. F. Chamberlain, O. N. Higley, Albert White, James and Edward W. King, I. C. Owen, Daniel Chandler, Allen Clinton, Lyman and E. W. Goodnow, and several others. During that season, James Buckner and Mr. Bowron built what is now a part of the "Prairieville House." Robert Love built a small frame dwelling house, and we another. These were the only framed buildings in this county at that time. Associations had been formed by the settlers for the mutual protection of each other in their "claims." Each had his claim registered, and was protected in the peaceable possession of so many acres, which was altered from time to time by the Association. At first, each man was allowed to claim 160 acres; after which "claims" became more valuable, and it was extended to a whole section. Disputes having arisen between the Messrs. Cutler, McMillan and Sergeant, (who were all on one "claim,") several "claim trials" were had, and finally, the Messrs. Cutler bought off the other claimants. In the meantime, M. D. Cutler had bought out Mr. Brown, and taken possession of the quarter section where he now lives.

Up to this time, the only provisions used or seen in the country were salt pork, flour and potatoes. Flour was worth in Milwaukee $16 to $17 a barrel, pork $30 to $33, potatoes $2 to $3 a bushel; and the price of hauling a barrel of pork from there was $5, and other freights in proportion. The road from here to Milwaukee was anywhere we chose to travel, as travellers generally preferred new

routes each time, knowing that a change must necessarily be an improvement. It had never been cut out through the timber, and each traveller was compelled to carry an axe to cut the trees, whenever he ran against them. Previous to the summer of 1838, there were but few settlers between here and Milwaukee.

During the summer of 1836, Messrs. Camp and Andrews had settled at Mukwonago, Messrs. Hatch and Rockwell at Oconomowoc, and Messrs. Fuller and Porter in Pewaukee, where they now live; and in 1837, Messrs. Edgerton and Dousman located their claims in Summit and Ottowa, where they now reside. The same season, Mr. John Gale, who then lived at Milwaukee, bought Mr. Cutler's claim to the quarter section containing the water-power, for $6,600, and the next season built a flour and saw-mill on it. After which he sold an undivided interest in it to Wm. A. Barstow and Robert Lockwood, who, in company with him, laid it out into village lots, many of which were sold at a high price, and bonds for deeds given while the title still remained in the General Government.

In October, 1839, the lands were brought into market and sold. At that time all the best locations had been taken, and each occupant was permitted to purchase his land at public auction, at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre. Many of the settlers being poor, paid from 25 to 50 per cent. for money to purchase their lands, and allowed the speculators to take the titles to them in their own names, as security for the money loaned; whereby in the end, being unable to pay, they lost their all. All those who succeeded in paying for their lands, and have remained on them up to the present time, have become wealthy; while some, who were unable to pay for their lands, sold their improvements for what they could get, and commenced anew on unimproved lands. From that time to this, the settlement of our county has gone forward steadily, and the lands are now mostly owned and occupied by actual settlers. Several large and flourishing villages have been built up in the county, which time and space will not allow us to speak of, on this occasion.

In 1847, the "Milwaukee and Waukesha Railroad Co." was incorporated, and subsequently it was changed to "Milwaukee and Mississippi," and extended to the Mississippi. The road was completed from Milwaukee to this village in March, 1852. There are also charters for three other Railroads running through this village.

The village of Waukesha was incorporated in 1852, and now has a population of about 2,200. It contains one saw mill, one flouring mill, two foundries, one railroad car factory, one machine shop, one threshing machine manufactory, two breweries, nine blacksmith shops, nine boot and shoe shops, two paint shops, one cooper shop, one carriage and wagon manufactory, two tailors' shops, two millinery establishments, two jewelry shops, three saddle and harness establishments, two cabinet ware-rooms, two tin and sheet-iron manufacturing establishments, two stone-cutting establishments, two butchers' shops, three drug stores, three stationery and book stores, three hardware stores, five dry goods stores, seven groceries, three hotels, two livery stables, nine physicians, one daguerreian room, one portrait painter, one dentist, seven lawyers, twelve ministers of the gospel, besides Rev. Dr. Savage, President of Carroll College; eight churches, the court-house and jail, a college, a female seminary, the Waukesha County Bank, two printing presses, one literary paper, and two newspapers.

No. 4.—Old Settlers

Some time in the month of February, A. D. 1837, we in company with Augustus Story, (a nephew of the late Chief Justice Story,) started from Milwaukee on a tour to the mining regions. We were both young and *green* in every thing connected with

western life, if not upon general principles. Our outfit consisted of two Indian ponies, rigged with pack-saddles, saddle-bags, blankets, "provisions for man and beast," with a few extra "liquids." The snow was about ten inches deep, and the weather extremely cold —say 10 or 15 degrees below 0. We reached Prairie Village the first night, pretty much "used up," being unaccustomed to riding, especially through heavy timber, where there was no road, except what we made for each other, in travelling in "Indian file." At Prairie Village, (now Waukesha,) we put up at the best house in town, which was a small log cabin, about fifteen feet square, and contained but one room and two beds. Some five or six travellers from other directions, had arrived in advance of us, and a "sight" for lodgings looked rather dubious. Upon inquiry, we were told that we could stay, as it was a standing rule of the country to entertain all travellers, regardless of accommodations, for necessity compelled it. After partaking of a very palatable supper, consisting of fried pork and bread, the two beds were properly divided among the crowd upon the floor; but, having a good supply of blankets ourselves, we refused our proportion, and made our bed near the stove; and being so much fatigued, from our journey, we soon fell asleep, and did not even awake until daylight pressed the duty upon us. After having breakfasted, we resumed our journey in the direction of Fort Atkinson. Being aware of the fact, that there was no house on the route between Prairie Village and that point, we prepared ourselves for the worst. The road was but an Indian trail, completely hidden by the snow; so we were compelled to travel by compass instead of "trails." We reached Rock River just as the day-god was sinking in the west; and, as good luck would have it, we discovered a light a short distance from the river, and directed our steps towards it. Upon our arrival at the spot from whence it proceeded, we found some old friends, whom we had previously seen at Prairie Village—the Messrs. Foster, of Fort Atkinson. This was the only cabin in the place. It had just been completed, and was located near the old Fort. Reader, if you are ever cold, hungry, weary, *"dry"* and wet, at

the same time, you can imagine our feelings on that occasion. The accommodations were somewhat limited, it being a log cabin of about the usual size, and contained but one room occupied by two families. Ten travellers, besides ourselves, had bespoken lodgings for the night; still we were comfortably provided for.

The next morning, with much reluctance, we again resumed our journey, weary and sore. We would willingly have retreated; but did not do so, lest we should be laughed at. We were informed that the next nearest stopping place (except among the natives) was at Haney's, near the Blue Mounds, a distance of 50 miles. It was a cold, cloudy day. Our compass, from some unknown cause, refused to perform its duty; and after travelling five or six miles, we were unable to determine whether we were going west or east. Our comrade being weary and discouraged, seemed determined to take the back track; but this was demurred to, as being contra to our early education. We took the lead, and kept it till about 3 o'clock P. M., when, looking round for our friend Story, we found that we had distanced him, and that he was not in sight. We halted for a short time, when he came up, and insisted upon "camping" upon the spot. We assured him that we would reach an Indian settlement, on the First Lake, before dark and prevailed upon him to follow. He finally consented to do so, and we again led the way till night overtook us, when we halted on the banks of the Catfish river, near the present site of the village of Dunkirk. After brushing the snow away from an old log, we struck up a fire, turned our pony loose to browse, and made preparations for lodgings. Our companion had not yet arrived, and we started on the back track in search of him. Twilight was fast deepening into night; and it soon became so dark, that we could only proceed in the direction from whence we came by feeling the footprints of our pony in the snow. Placed in this dilemma, we knew not what course to pursue. The wolves commenced howling around us, evidently intending to give us their hand, without a formal introduction; and at times they would approach so near us that we could see their glaring eye-balls through

the darkness. In this manner we felt our way back for the distance of about a mile, when we met our companion who was completely exhausted. He was proceeding on foot, feeling his way, and leading his pony—cursing both us and the country. We assured him that we had procured the best of lodgings, at the nearest hotel, which was but a short distance ahead; and in this way we kept his spirits up until we reached the lodgings which we had provided by the "old oaken" log; and never were mortals more happy than we were on reaching it. After spancelling our ponies, and turning them loose to browse, we looked after our provisions, and found that they had "stepped out," or, in other words, we had lost them; and nothing had we in the shape of refreshments, except a bottle, about half full, of "fourth proof." We took that to the river, for the purpose of diluting it with water, and thus making it more palatable; but we found the river frozen over. We attempted to break the ice with our fist, but it was stronger than we had anticipated; and after dealing it a few blows, our knuckles "backed out." After seeking in vain to find a stone near by we conceived the idea of breaking the ice through with our bottle; but at the first blow the bottle yielded, instead of the ice; and away went the last of our *liquid refreshments*. We returned to the camp, and found our friend engaged in endeavoring to re-kindle the fire, which had nearly expired. We informed him of our misfortune, and at the same time reminded him that it was useless to mourn for "spilled milk," or brandy. After a while we succeeded in reviving the fire, which we took turns in replenishing with fuel during the night. It was so cold that we should have been frozen before morning, had we not kept up a fire, which, together with the time occupied in keeping the wolves at bay, occupied one or the other of us until day dawned upon us. The wolves watched every move we made, as though, (if possible,) they were more hungry than ourselves.

We were "up and dressed" in good season in the morning—not having slept at all during the night—and proceeded up the Catfish river, knowing that that stream would lead us to the "Fourth

Lake," where were several Indian wig-wams; and when there, we could obtain something to eat, even if it was not of the choicest kind. At about noon we reached the First Lake, and seeing moccasin tracks in the snow, we followed them a short distance to a wigwam, but found it tenantless. After searching it from top to bottom, we found a few cold roasted potatoes, which, we assure you, (after having fasted for twenty-four hours,) relished well.—We remained in this wigwam an hour or two, and then passed on to the point where Madison is now located. At that time, neither the axe, nor "the shovel and the hoe," had been hung up or laid down in that vicinity. It was nearly sundown when we crossed the Third Lake. After travelling over the first eminence—where the Capitol now stands—we struck a ravine, (between Capitol-square and the present site of the University,) where we made a halt, struck up a fire, and encamped for the night, without even making any inquiry about supper. The cold potatoes which we ate at noon, supplied the place of breakfast, dinner and supper. The weather had moderated a little, which, together with the hardships of the journey, and our extreme fatigue, caused us to sleep quite comfortably during the night. The next morning we crossed Fourth Lake, a distance of about four miles, where we saw a small log cabin, which was the first building of the kind we had seen since leaving Fort Atkinson. We knocked at the door, but all was silent. We were both cold and hungry, and the *sight* of a cabin was some relief. We did not wait for ceremony, but bolted in, where we found a squaw and some four or five pappooses. We spoke to her in the Pottawatamie language, but she made no reply. We were soon satisfied that she did not understand us. We then made all the signs that our Indian education or ingenuity would admit of, to show her that we were hungry; but all in vain. We expected that her husband would soon come in and kick us out of doors, without waiting for an explanation, and were at a loss what to do. A white man, however, soon came in, spoke to us in good English, and seemed glad to see us. He informed us that he was a Canadian, that the squaw was his wife, and that the children

were also his. The squaw belonged to the Winnebago tribe, and spoke a different language from the other Indians in the vicinity. He had been an Indian trader there for years. The lands which he had cultivated had been sold without his knowledge; for, in fact, he took no interest in anything, except trading in furs, &c. His wife, on being made acquainted with our wants, flew around and prepared for us a supper. It was a kind of pot pie, which relished very well. After finishing our meal, we inquired what kind of meat we had eaten, and were informed that it was *muskrat.*— We remained there till morning, and then left for the "Blue Mounds." In the meantime, we had become blind, from the effect of sore eyes, caused by too frequent exposure of our ocular organs to the smoke.

At Blue Mounds we found Mr. Ebenezer Brigham, who still resides there. By this time, our eyes had become so sore, that we could not bear the light. We remained at the Mounds a day or two, while our friend Story went on to Mineral Point. Being anxious to arrive at the "diggings," whether we were able to see or not, we hired an Indian to lead our pony, mounted upon his back, and proceeded to Mineral Point. We were obliged to ride blindfolded, to protect our eyes from the wind. We arrived at the Point a little after dark, on Sunday evening. We were conducted into a room at the principal hotel, kept by Mr. Nichols; but still kept our eyes bandaged. There were all kinds of fun, sports and music going on in the room. After sitting a while, we removed the bandage from our eyes, washed them, and found that they were much better. Such a sight as presented itself to our view, we never saw before or since. It seemed that the miners were in the habit of assembling there on Saturday nights, to drink, gamble and frolic until Monday morning. The house was composed of three or four log cabins put together, with passage ways cut from one to another. This was the only public house in the place. The bar room, in which we were sitting, contained a large bar, well supplied with all kinds of liquors. In one corner of the room, was a Faro Bank, discounting to a crowd around it; in ano-

ther corner a Roulette; and in another, sat a party engaged in playing at cards. One man sat back in a corner, playing a fiddle, to whose music two others were dancing in the middle of the room. Hundreds of dollars were lying upon the tables; and among the crowd were the principal men of the Territory—men who held high and responsible offices then, and do now. Being pretty much worn out by our journey, we expressed a wish to retire. The landlord showed us through a dark room, and opened the door of another, in which two men were also playing at cards, and a third lay drunk upon the floor. The landlord sat down his light, seized the drunken man by the collar, and dragged him into the next room. He soon returned, and informed us that we could choose between the beds—there being two in the room—and bid us good night. We sat down upon the side of the bed, and began to figure in our mind upon the chances. We had several hundred dollars in our pocket, which we had brought with us, for the purpose of entering land.* We imagined that in case they should get "short," they might call for our "pile."

After studying a while, we threw down the outside blanket, and quietly crawled into bed with all our clothes on, except cap and boots. We had a good bowie-knife in our belt, and a pistol in each pocket; we clasped a pistol in each hand, and in this way we lay until daylight, and a longer night we never wish to see.—When daylight made its appearance, we got up; our room-mates were still playing at cards. On going out to the bar-room, we found that the crowd had mostly disappeared; there were here and there one or two asleep around the room, and all was still.—The next day, our companion, (Mr. Story,) who had been visiting some friends near by, came around. We entered our lands and returned to the Blue Mounds, where we laid in a store of provisions and left for home, which we reached in four days, having learned the way, the fare, the manners and customs of the miners, and have seen enough of travelling in a new country to last us from that time to the present.

* Perhaps it would be well to state here, in connection with this fact, that this was previous to our connection with politics or newspapers.

P.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Society

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notices of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of Michigan newspapers for that period, we are peculiarly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

7. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities; all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward to the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

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Joel Munsell, Publisher, 78 State Street, Albany.
George Ogden Deeth & Co., Washington City.
C. R. Starkweather, No. 102 Michigan Avenue, Chicago.
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David Anderson, Cincinnati.
Jesse Clement, Editor Western Literary Messenger, Buffalo.

NOTE.—Donors to the Society's library and collections will, in return, be placed upon the list of exchanges, and receive equivalent publications of the Society.

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